DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 213 589 SE 036 258

TITLE Socio-Cultural Case Studies for Population Education in Morocco, Peru, Rwanda and the United Republic of Tanzania. Co-ordinated Action Programme for the Advancement of Population Education (CAPAPE).
INSTITUTION United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, Paris (France). Population Education Section.
PUB DATE 81
NOTE 238p.

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Adolescents; Adults; *Case Studies; *Cultural Influences; Economic Factors; Environmental Education; *Foreign Countries; Global Approach; Models; Parents; *Population Education; Research Methodology; *Social Influences; Teachers
IDENTIFIERS Morocco; Peru; Rwanda; Tanzania

ABSTRACT

Developed to serve as a guide, this document contains four case studies which demonstrate the application of a conceptual and methodological reference model which promotes the use of socio-cultural research in national population education projects. Information obtained from these kinds of studies can be used in developing population education programs and curricula which reflect the values and needs of specific population groups including teachers, educators, parents, adolescents, researchers, doctors, development workers, and decision makers. The introduction discusses the frames of reference and fundamental concepts that guided the studies and outlines the general methodology. The main body of the document provides the summary reports of the case studies of the four different countries. The final chapter evaluates the socio-cultural studies, discusses strategies for population education, and outlines appropriate educational practices. (DC)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED213589

Co-ordinated action
programme for the advancement
of population education

(CAPAPE)

Socio-cultural case
Studies for Population
Education in
[illegible] Republic
and the United Republic
# of Tanzania

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)
✓ [illegible]
[illegible]
● [illegible]

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS
MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY
HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
SUSANNE ADLUNG
UNESCO
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES
INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

UNESCO

SE 036 258

Published in 1981
by the United Nations Educational
Scientific and Cultural Organization
7, Place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris

Composed by I.T.C.S.A. Paris
Printed in workshops of Unesco
© Unesco 1981
ED. 81 WS 59
Printed in France

GENERAL TABLE OF CONTENTS

Pages

PREFACE 5

INTRODUCTION 7

MOROCCO 15

PERU 59

RWANDA 111

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA 165

CONCLUSION 211

Annexe I 221

Annexe II 225

4

PREFACE

The fifteenth session of the General Conference of Unesco in 1968 recommended to the Secretariat in its resolution 1.241 that it set in motion a programme relating to population questions in both the Education sector and the sectors of Social Sciences and Communications. Since then, a vast intersectoral programme has been set up within the framework of Objective 8.1 bearing on the development of knowledge in this field.

The present study carried out as a part of this programme is meant as a contribution to the elaboration of population education programmes. In an earlier phase, the Secretariat, through the Population Education Section, had concentrated its attention on the definition of concepts and the clarification of practices with a view to facilitate progress in this direction : such was the aim of the International Study of the Conceptualization and Methodology of Population Education (ISCOMPE) (1). Pressing ahead with its work, particularly with the financial help of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), this Section launched at the end of 1977 the *"Co-ordinated action programme for the advancement of population education"* (CAPAPE).

This project intended to assist Member States in the setting up of population-related educational projects comprised firstly *a series of Studies on the Contribution of Population Education to Educational Innovation and Renewal* and secondly *a series of socio-cultural case studies for population education* bearing on the formal and informal processes through which children, teenagers and adults alike acquire in differing geo-cultural situations population-related knowledge, attitudes, values and beliefs. These studies should facilitate the planning and adaptation of educational activities to local conditions which is an essential element for their effectiveness.

In the second series of studies therefore, the CAPAPE programme has endeavoured to *put forward a Research outline* to serve as a methodological guide for this necessary inquiry of socio-cultural conditions by sponsoring four case studies in areas which are representative, to a large extent, of the diversity of the situations prevailing in English-speaking and French-speaking Africa *(Rwanda* and *Tanzania)*; in the Arab world *(Morocco)*, and in Latin America *(Peru)*.

It is hoped that this research which provides a conceptual and methodological reference model will promote the use of socio-cultural research in national population education projects. It should also be useful as support in teacher-training activities in order that the teaching methods may take into account the socio-cultural values and the specific needs of each population group concerned, by reaching right down to the level of basic human communities, which is the basis for any endogenous development centred on man. This approach also tends to make all those concerned more aware of population questions and in particular teachers and educators, parents, adolescents, researchers, doctors, development workers in all disciplines and, most important of all, the decision-makers.

The new awareness achieved through socio-cultural studies of this type, it is hoped, would lead to the promotion of increased participation by these various groups of people in the design and implementation of school and out-of-school population education programmes. The originality of this research as compared with other socio-cultural studies, lies mainly in its practical goal, viz, *the elaboration of relevant population education.*

The resources available for the case studies only allowed a limited number of countries to be investigated, but we believe that the methodology employed and outlined in the present document will give rise to other studies covering a much wider area.

The present study will be published also in French and Spanish.

We should like at this point to thank all those people who, in their various capacities, have taken part in this work.

Firstly, our gratitude goes to the *national teams* which carried out each case study, often under difficult working conditions, and which have gathered together very valuable material. This material will be of use not only for the promotion of inter-regional methodological research tools but also for the advancement of population education in their countries.

Our thanks are addressed particularly, therefore, to :

- Mrs. Fatima Mernissi and Mrs. Malika El-Belghiti, senior lecturers at the Faculty of Arts, Mohammed V University of Rabat, for *Morocco* ;

---

(1) The final report of which was published under the title : *"Population Education : a contemporary concern"*, Educational studies and documents, N°. 28. Unesco, Paris, 1978.

- Mr. José Matos Mar, Director of the Institute of Peruvian Studies in Lima, and his entire team, for *Peru* ;
- The team of the National Institute of Pedagogy in Butare, led by Mr. Maurice Ntahobari, and his team members : Mr. Frédéric Gatera, Mr. Paulin Muswahili and Mr. Pascal Ndengejeho, for *Rwanda* ; and
- Mr. Issa M. Omari, Director of the Education Department of the University of Dar-es-Salaam, and Mr. Suliman A Sura, senior lecturer of the same department, and also to Dr. P. Maro, Head of the *Geography Department*, and all their colleagues, for the *United Republic of Tanzania*.

We should also like to thank the consultants who have helped the Population Education Section of the Secretariat of Unesco in Paris :

- Mr. Roland Colin, Secretary General of the "Institut international de recherche et de formation pour l'éduction et le développement" (IRFED) (International Research and Training Institute for Education and Development), in Paris, who gave his assistance in the general coordination of the studies and collaborated in writing the introduction and conclusion to the general document, as well as the synthesis of the Rwanda case study and in part that of Morocco.
- Miss Maria del Carmen de Sierra Nueva, former professor at the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences of Montevideo, Uruguay, and Mr. James Hendry, educator and former staff member of the Secretariat of Unesco who collaborated respectively in the preparation of parts of the synthesis of the case study of Peru and that of Tanzania.

Our thanks also go the *National Commissions* for Unesco in the countries where the studies were carried out for their constant and invaluable support.

The opinions expressed in this document are those of the participants in the studies and do not necessarily reflect the official views of Unesco. The designations employed and the presentation of the material do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of the Secretariat of the Organization concerning the legal status or the delimitations of the frontiers of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities.

INTRODUCTION

THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF A PROJECT

The International Study of the Conceptualization and Methodology of Population Education (ISCOMPE) carried out by Unesco and its Population Education Section, the final report of which was published in 1978, opened the way for a line of work which came as a response to the decisions taken by the General Conference at its 18th and 19th sessions. These decisions called upon the Organization :

(a)"to undertake and encourage studies and research to improve knowledge of population problems and particularly of the causes and consequences of human behaviour in this respect, taking into consideration the structural socio-economic factors which are at the basis of those problems,

(b)to undertake and encourage studies on the interrelations between population dynamics and the natural and cultural environment ;

(c)to promote, through education and information, a wider awareness of the nature, causes and consequences of demographic trends ;

(d)to assist Member States, on request, in implementing their national programmes for study, research, education and information on population problems and in the training of personnel specialized in these activities" (1) ;

"to extend educational activities conducive to a better understanding of the part played by population phenomena in the development of societies" (2)

The concept of population education, which first emerged a decade ago, has gradually come to include within it a more clearly defined and operationally meaningful content as a result of the various national and regional experiments conducted notably with the support of Unesco and the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) throughout the various continents. The World Population Conference held in Bucharest in 1974 had stressed the need to look at population issues from a global viewpoint, and called particularly for due consideration to be given to environmental issues and the quest for a new international economic order. It is no longer possible to talk of population dynamics without referring to the necessary but difficult task of controlling ecological and economic equilibria on which not just the quality of life, but life itself, is dependent. This view of the problem calls for analysis and action, and for knowledge that mankind must acquire and master, and practices that must be developed if it is to survive.

Knowledge and practices involve the society as a whole just as much as they do each individual in his uniqueness : the "macro" and "micro" levels are inseparable, but in practice it is the cultural dimension which wins the day, for education alone makes it possible to bind tightly together individual behaviour and collective solidarity. These considerations amply justify the course of action adopted by the General Conference of Unesco and explain the scope of the global research activities begun by the ISCOMPE study.

The Co-ordinated action programme for the advancement of population education (CAPAPE) constitutes a further link in the chain of this strategy. After a wide-reaching exploration of the conceptual and methodological field and an initial assessment of the achievements already made and the possible options open, the ISCOMPE study brings to light the new tasks to be assumed in support of initiatives conceived to tackle the problems arising in this field. It notably supports those analyses that criticize an excessively restricted or even restrictive view of the actions to be taken : "The present conceptualization of population education is limited and lacks an overall integrating framework. The prevailing stress upon the interrelationships between population processes and quality-of-life outcomes should be placed within a wider context which will explain how social, economic and political forces generate these interrelationships, otherwise, population education provides only a fragmentary understanding of reality and fails to make people aware of the effect which basic social conditions (like, for example, the lack of distributive justice) can have on population-related issues." (3)

With this in mind, the CAPAPE programme was set up in late 1977 so as to support Member States in adjusting their population education activities to the need for integration of their educational policies and to the realities of their economic, social and cultural context ; the same thinking led to the launching of two series of studies, cited above, with operational goals. Stress was laid particularly on the possibility of *stimulating innovation in the educational field.*

---

(1) Resolution 5.21, Eighteenthsession, 1974.

(2) Resolution 1.141, Nineteenth Session,1976.

(3) Unesco, *op. cit.* (p 95).

This document presents the results of the second series of studies – *the socio-cultural case studies for population education* – which come within the CAPAPE programme. The aim was to *test a method of analysis of socio-cultural realities*, in certain significant cases, *with constant reference to educational concerns* by following an experimental approach, but aimed at subsequent extrapolation. The analysis, geared primarily to topics concerning population education, was intended to *collect together a corpus of interpretable material* which could be used to support a strategy and build up *educational programmes.* The development of these experimental socio-cultural studies needs to be detailed before going on to set forth the conceptual and theoretical bases and the methodological alternatives.

The first problem which arose was the *choice of target areas.* So as to avoid further complication of the difficulties of an international study which is by nature complex, whilst at the same time ensuring that it remained representative, it was decided to keep the number of target areas down to four. In these four countries, moreover, partners had to be found who were willing to conduct field operations and work within a global framework. The Population Education Section, supervising the operations at the Unesco Secretariat, therefore reached agreements with four research teams of University or para-University status with sufficient experience to conduct case studies in their own countries, involving the analysis of socio-cultural data with a view to supporting population education programmes. The Moroccan team, from the Mohammed V University of Rabat, was to study a representative sample of an *Arab society* ; the Peruvian team from the Institute of Peruvian Studies in Lima, was responsible for a *Latin American* study ; the National Institute of Pedagogy in Rwanda was to tackle the analysis of a *French-speaking African* country and the Department of Education of the University of Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania was to look into the social reality of an *English-speaking country in Africa.* The differing political, economic and social situations, educational systems and cultural backgrounds was expected to allow observations to be made of the interplay of a rich range of variables centred round one common interrogation : through the diversity in "logics", systems and patterns of historical development, how to work out a strategy and a set of practical guidelines for population education that will, as the ISCOMPE study puts it, provide an "educational response to current demographic, economic, social and political problems"?

Two basic goals were sought in the approach adopted :

- firstly, through the case studies, to contribute to the advancement of population education in each of the selected countries. In view of this aim, the studies call for and stimulate a particular pattern of work dynamics ;
- secondly, through a comparative study, to identify possible practicable methodologies for other countries, in other contexts, from a more general perspective.

This publication responds particularly to the second objective. As a matter of fact *each team prepared a much fuller report* and only those parts which illustrated the methodological approach of a much wider application have been taken up in the syntheses. The national reports will be more useful for drawing up policies and programmes in their own specific contexts.

So as to preserve the necessary minimal compatibility between the various research activities in the field the Population Education Section, with the help of the International Research and Training Institute for Education and Develoment (IRFED) and two consultants, had prepared during the course of 1978 a *research outline* which contained proposals for the various national research teams concerning the *fundamental concepts and methodology* for the socio-cultural case studies. (1)

The case studies were conducted between the third quarter of 1978 and the last quarter of 1979. The synthesis of the studies was carried out by the Population Education Section with the help of a team of consultants during the first quarter of 1980. Before going on to the country-by-country synthesis of the studies, it is necessary to briefly describe the conceptual bases proposed in the research outline as well as the general methodology adopted in the studies.

I. FRAMES OF REFERENCE AND FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

It was desirable to refer to a certain number of theoretical frames of reference and conceptual clarifications considered useful for basing the common analytical approach, for which considerable demand was anticipated and which, otherwise, was likely to be modified by the research practices of the different research teams. At first sight, this diversity appeared to present an advantage and there was no question of thwarting or blocking it ; but, at the most, it was a matter of encouraging researchers to seek, without any loss of identity, an overall view of the problem, to dialogue and to international and intercultural cooperation. Acceptance of this point of view by the various research teams was in keeping with the promoter's desire to respect differences and variations in working methods without losing sight of the global interpretation. On this basis, therefore, each research team, going beyond the guidelines put forward, gave priority to the frames of reference which it considered to be the most enlightening. No insurmountable problems were encountered as a result of these varying practices when preparing the general document.

a) *Fundamental theories concerning the global framework of socio-cultural analysis in relation to population questions*

The greatest problem here lies in the interpretaton of the socio-economic, cultural and demographic *transition*

---

(1) Unesco, Co-ordinated action programme for the advancement of population education (CAPAPE), *Socio-cultural case studies for population education* – Fundamental concepts and methodology, Research outline, 1978, ED-79/WS/24, 78p + Bibliography.

phase through which the majority of developing countries is currently moving. *Change* is indeed to be seen in the various geo-cultural areas – to varying degrees and according to differing historical patterns – representing the move from predominantly agrarian civilizations to an industry-oriented model (without prejudging on the first signs of "post-industrial" models). The population issue is posed today in this transition context. Europe underwent its "demographic transition"in the 19th century when technological changes affecting particularly food and health brought the mortality rate sharply down whilst natality continued returning high coefficients. This intermediate period of rapid demographic growth only came to an end when a series of social and socio-cultural adjustments resulted in introducing the great majority of the population to a new lifestyle.

This "demographic transition theory" could not be applied without far-reaching modifications to countries which have not yet reached the stage of industrial transformations.

The new transition is, indeed, characterized by a confrontation between endogenous socio-cultural models, that are often qualified as being traditional, and exogenous models of modernization, although in the context of European historical evolution, "modernization" was seen as an endogenous model.

Split between these two poles and drawn into a movement generally leading from the rural to the urban, from the agrarian to the industrial and from the non-market to the market economy, the great majority of the population in these so-called "developing" countries is in fact experiencing *a situation of conflict where two modes of regulation co-exist, confront and often block each other.* By regulation one refers to the individual behaviours and social norms which tend to match the means to needs in the quest for an optimum. The tensions that have built up between these two sources of models and adjustments are one of the major causes of "under-development". From this viewpoint, as the discussions and activities of Unesco have repeatedly indicated (1), no new international economic order can come about without a new social and cultural order which will emerge only when the conflicts between and domination of models have been overcome. According to the presently observed facts, regulation linked to the dominant industrial and urban model tends to attract towards its dominant poles the economic and human components of the dominated areas. This applies especially in the demographic sphere where migratory currents emerge to counteract the transition and the inequality of the systems in confrontation.

From this standpoint, it would appear useful to *pinpoint the basic hypotheses which will shed some light on the new "demographic transition" observed in the field of socio-cultural studies.*

In the statement of the problem in this introduction, the resulting question is as follows : can the conflict between the two economic and socio-cultural modes of regulation – one modern, the other traditional – be resolved in part by way of a policy enabling a greater control of population phenomena in relation to their overall socio-cultural setting ? Thus formulated, the question begs a second : which components of the traditional regulation may weaken or disappear in a situation of massive (or slow) spread of an urban/industrial dominant model, and which components of the modern mode of economic and socio-cultural regulation are the most likely to gain a hold ? These hypotheses will be at the root of a large part of the analytical approach and the research methodology adopted.

The point of departure thus consists in acknowledging that *in the traditional model it is economically rational to have a high natality rate.*

In a society where the extended family unit prevails, like in Africa for example, a large number of children enables the diversification of alliances, therefore also that of economic exchange, tied to marriage strategies.

The amount of available labour in the family, related closely with the number of children, also comes into consideration in the traditional rural economy, characterized as it is by alternating periods of intense activity and inaction. When the agricultural work load is the heaviest, particularly at harvest time, a shortage of manpower means an irrecuperable loss of earnings in an autarkical system where storage and exchange opportunities are very limited. A large family thus provides insurance against the risks of a break in the supply of labour. This is all the more true since the social cost of a child is minimal when compared with the resources he or she represents in terms of work or contributions to social organization (domestic chores, child-minding etc.). Finally, in societies where old-age security is not provided on an institutionalized basis and where the wherewithal to live comes from the product of labour and group solidarity, and taking into account the high mortality rates, it is in the interests of the individual – be he peasant farmer or craftsman – to make sure he has a large number of offsprings.

The conflict between modern and traditional societies was to create a huge breach in the social and cultural rationality behind a family unit, as large and numerous as possible, by decentralizing the decision-making power from the head of family to the other members, particularly the women, and by favouring the individual to the detriment of the group. The factors of change are well known. Colonization brought with it the values of the industrialized Western societies and the social patterns peculiar to them. Education has played a key role in the evolution of conceptions concerning the modern status and role of the woman.

By advocating sexual equality, modernization is undermining certain socio-cultural norms of demographic behaviour. If the woman is left a degree of choice as concerns her motherhood, instead of being merely the agent through whom collective fertility goals are attained, then there is direct conflict. The convergence of two aspects of the conflict is to be noted (rural exodus, drop in fertility) : it is particularly and especially in the large towns and cities or their outskirts that women generally escape most from the control of the cultural and familial norms of traditional society. It should also be noted that under the influence of the dominant model, through the dissemination of exogenous modern education patterns and new consumer habits, and above all, as a result of the increase in health expenses, the cost of a child goes up. This rise in costs cannot fail to have an impact on child-bearing behaviour, particularly if the increase in financial earnings remains relatively moderate.

---

(1) See particularly : Unesco, *Moving towards change :Reflections on the new international economic order*, Paris 1976.

These few keys to the analysis in no way sought to establish a strict framework for an investigation which had been designed to remain open, and were aiming to prompt questions rather than suggest any answers. Evidence of this line of operation is found all through the documents drawn up on the basis of the results of each study.

However, it did appear important to put forward a more rigorous clarification of the basic concepts used in the analysis.

b) *Basic concepts in relation to population education*

For the most part, the clarification of the concepts was based on the ISCOMPE study, but it also reflected what had been learnt as a result of more wide-ranging research process which had been enriched notably by detailed anthropological references. Some of the key points put forward in the outline for the studies are reproduced below.

1. Demographic anthropology

The socio-cultural study of population questions along the lines outlined above, necessarily leads to the adoption of an *interdisciplinary approach.* Demographic behaviours must be situated within larger complexes of social practice before they can become significant. They can only be interpreted within the framework of a given socio-cultural logic. It is therefore important to understand that logical system. The discipline possessing the methodology that is best suited for this purpose is anthropology, to the extent that it is actually given the status of a science of socio-cultural differences which takes into account the differences of logic that go along with them. One can thus talk of *demographic anthropology* if the socio-cultural field under study involves *population-related issues.* Thus, demographic anthropology is that discipline which deals with the knowledge, values, attitudes and behaviours in the population sphere from the point of view of the difference and specificity of the cultural logics of which such socio-cultural phenomena are the expression. Within all this, socialization is of major importance.

2. Socialization and population-related issues

A basic definition may be set down. By the term socialization is meant the whole complex of processes used by a social group to transmit to its children the norms and behaviours which tend to guarantee the functioning and development of the social system and the social relationships upon which the system is founded. For the individual to whom this process applies, acceptance of this socialization is the necessary prerequisite for becoming a full member of the group, and benefitting from the regulation practised therein. The process involves a non-reciprocal interaction characterized by the considerable power of the group and by the relative difficulty the individual encounters in that situation in choosing other alternatives.

However, socialization should not be perceived purely as a process of constraint that establishes the power of one generation over another. It must also be seen as a positive process by which the subjects develop their capacities, skills, knowledge, creativity and autonomy, by becoming a part of community life, exchange, production and consumption.

In this process, two phases are to be noted : *primary socialization* which in general takes place at infancy and involves the child's first introduction to the social world ; and *secondary socialization* whose purpose is to introduce the individual into specific social groups. This phase is generally institutional in character.

If the *family* is responsible for most of the work involved in primary socialization, it is the *school* which usually constitutes the predominant factor in secondary socialization. "School" here must be understood in the broadest sense of the word however : it is the institutional system set up by society outside of the family for dispensing the training needed to complete social integration. By this criterion, for example, African systems known as initiation rites are to be included in this category.

Mention should also be made of other agents of socialization at the primary or secondary phase operating in an informal way : influence of the media, the street, the peer-groups etc...

A large part of what is acquired by the individual during his socialization has a direct bearing on the demographic regulation of the social group he belongs to. It is thus possible to speak of *population socialization* which involves the norms, values and attitudes relative to the acquisition of sexual identity, the age of marriage, the size and make-up of the family, choices underlying migratory patterns, etc... Families and informal groups are the principal agents of this population socialization. Accompanied by varying degrees of explanation, they provide the child or adolescent with a set of legitimated experiences and situations which reflect the social group's judgements in this field. School and other agents of secondary socialization can, however, either complement or oppose the effects of the primary phase through the use of new information (sex and family education courses, for example) or, to a wider extent, through the various ways of transmitting what might be called the "implicit curriculum" (attitudes and behaviours of the teachers, treatment of the population question in "traditional" school subjects, etc.). A knowledge of the socialization processes is the primary condition for the success of any population education action since it is these processes which determine the input reception structures in the in–

dividual and link them up with the social determinants governing learning processes and behaviour patterns.

3. Population education

This concept has been extensively dealt with in the ISCOMPE study. Here, we shall merely take up certain of its key aspects which need to be re-emphasized before going on to the methodology of the socio-cultural studies which were designed precisely so that they could lead straight on to population education.

In the first place, it should be stressed that population education is an integral part of educational dynamics as a whole, and concentrates particularly on education as a means of access to social participation.

One of the declared objectives of all education, whether formal or informal, is to allow the learners access to knowledge and development of their critical capacities enabling them to select the best possible alternatives in their lives and social practices. In doing so, it should open up the individual to a world of creativity, freedom and participation at all levels. We also know however, that education is a powerful tool through which every society seeks to reproduce its structures, be it the historical structure sanctioned by the majority or the structure that its elite wishes to impose. Whence the conservative and almost always dominating character of education. As with so many other social mechanisms, education is a field in which contradictions become apparent, and can turn into a battle field when forces of change are at work within the society.

It is a fact that the role of education is to endow learners with the kinds of tools that will help them understand the various aspects of any given phenomenon. This is precisely the goal that population education sets for itself, inasmuch as it aims to open the pupil up to the outside world by giving him the intellectual means to comprehend it and prepare himself for it. It proposes in fact to help the learners – whether they are schoolchildren or an adult public – to define and understand the nature, causes and consequences of demographic phenomena and their interrelationships with the realities of economic, social and cultural development.

Translated into pedagogical terms, population education should allow learners to acquire the knowledge, abilities, attitudes and values necessary for the understanding and evaluation of the prevailing population situation, the dynamic forces that have shaped it, and the effects it will have on present and future quality-of-life. In addition, learners should be able to make informed and responsible decisions, based on their own assessments, and to participate in collective decisions which help promote social development. Population education requires the most value-fair possible teaching-learning situation in which the teacher offers the learner a set of facts and values that will allow him to evaluate the entire range of options with respect to a given problem.

One of the very goals of population education – and thus its contribution to educational innovation and renewal – is to contribute to the development of new participatory methodologies and to the relevance of curriculum contents. It is a point of fact that if these contents include issues such as demographic dynamics, the production and distribution of goods, social justice, the improvement of the quality of community and cultural life, the environment, health, nutrition, human sexuality, and relations within the family on both the macro level (that of the society) and micro level (that of the individual or family), then it shows that population education, on the basis of an interdisciplinary approach, aims at the updating of curriculum contents by integrating these present-day problems and concerns. A great many specialists consider it to be the path of an "education for the future". Its ambition, therefore, is to have, as both source and objective, the needs and social realities of the learners, their families, and their socio-economic and cultural environments.

Such are the facts and figures which the socio-cultural studies aimed to bring out.

II – GENERAL METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDIES

The methodology proposed was conceived to respond to the studies' practical objectives which were to present educators, especially those in charge of designing curricula, and teacher-training programmes in general, and population education courses in particuliar, with the elements necessary for them to situate their work more appropriately within the economic, social, and cultural environments in which the programmes are to be given. This contribution was particularly intended to be used in such tasks as the choice of teaching themes, the development of contents, and the shaping of the teaching/learning methods.

Therefore, it was designed to cover in principle, a vast field of observation topics in which the studies undertaken, in view of the available resources and time, could only be an initial "clearing of the ground" ; this descriptive study could act as a point of departure for more refined sociological and anthropological research responding more specifically to the requirement of the educational programmes.

In its section on methodology, the research outline stressed firstly the problem of language, frames of reference and other obstacles to communication which this survey was liable to come up against in the field. Differences necessarily exist between those in charge of the study, the investigators and the subjects of the inquiry. It was suggested that a preparatory meeting be held before each study between the various categories of research workers involved. This was intended to identify the various linguistic levels used by the different social actors in different situations and to determine the method of obtaining information in the real social language of the subject, so that it is neither filtered nor deformed by an outside language imposed by the investigator.

The choices of method meant that a position had to be adopted concerning the selection of inquiry samples and analysis guides to be drawn up, on which data-gathering would be based.

1. The samples

Although the nature of the study and the resources available did not allow the undertaking of a quantitative inquiry whose sample would be representative of all social categories in a country, it was nonetheless suggested that all societal groups whose observation and study might be considered the most significant in the population education area be included.

Three major types of criteria were thus suggested in selecting such type-groups :

a) The societal groups that show the greatest developmental needs notably in the area of population ;

a) Those occupying the greatest geographical area or carrying the greatest numerical weight in the country ;

c) Those groups which, in one way or another, are the most exposed to the mechanisms of "modernization" or to the impact of significant socio-cultural changes.

The first criterion underlined the importance of those social categories which hypothetically present the greatest educational deficiencies and which lack, above all, an education whose content and methods correspond to their situation and needs.

The second referred to the social stratum in which the largest portion of the productive forces is concentrated and whose standard of awareness and competence must be raised as part of any effort towards development.

The third sought to point out the importance of socio-cultural factors that are often forgotten in such operations (school or out-of-school education, rural development, primary health services, etc.) or else are simply considered as obstacles to be surmounted and not as sources of creativity.

The *target groups* for the study were to be chosen from among the following type-groups :

- *adolescents*, in school or recently come out of school,
- *parents* with children of school age,
- *teachers* who discharge their duties in environments similar to those chosen to provide the data base.

The choice of these three particular type-groups – agents imparting informal or formal education (parents or teachers) or beneficiaries of education (adolescents) – was dictated by the educational objectives of the study – to identify, firstly, the realities and needs in the educational field (the school, its role, the expectations placed in it) and, secondly, the possible areas for educational innovation by way of the introduction of topics relevant to the subjects' lives, starting with population, – family – and sex-related issues.

The research outline in no way intended to pre-determine the system by which the samples would be structured by deciding what variables would be significant among the various layers inside each of the target groups. As with the precise selection of the societal groups referred to (urban and/or rural environment) it was thought that this choice was up to the research teams, in co-operation with the co-ordinating office of the Population Education Section.

2. The data system and the analysis and inquiry techniques

Two separate complementary operations were suggested in the collection of information : firstly, the establishment of a *dossier* of organized information and secondly, the carrying out of *anthropological and sociological inquiries*. These two lines of activity were designed to enable the problems to be approached both from the outside, using primarily the objective angle, and from the inside, using, then, the subjective one, i.e. the way the subjects themselves look upon, and experience, the problems. It was also hoped, in so doing, to avoid the pitfall of giving greater weight to socio-economic factors than to socio-cultural ones, in view of the educational goals of the study. The two approaches were thus to remain compatible and co-ordinated with each other so that educators particularly those in charge of population education, could use the outcomes of the study in accordance with their own particular objectives and concerns.

Methodologically speaking, the ideal procedure for this kind of study would have required spreading out the operations over several successive steps : compiling the dossier to act as background material, selecting inquiry themes on the basis of the dossier's contents, drawing up the *interview guides*, administering them, and analyzing the results by comparing and contrasting them with the contents of the dossier which may eventually lead up to complementary research. The limitations of time, however, made a compromise necessary, and the two operations (dossier and anthropological inquiries) were consequently carried out simultaneously, but independent of one another, leaving to the final synthesis in each country the task of reconciling results.

It was suggested however, that participatory techniques used in the analysis could help to outline, to a certain degree, future teaching practices to the extent that at least some of the researchers and interviewers would later be taken on to implement population education programmes.

a) *The dossier*

On the basis of a pre-established guide and in accordance with the particular focus of interest of the given socio-cultural study, a set of data was to be collected from studies that had already been completed or documents available in the country and from information gathered from primary informants.

By *primary informants* is meant, firstly, social science researchers and specialists working or having worked with the societal groups under study, and secondly certain categories of persons engaged in social practices or technical aspects of the field in question : technical assistants, agricultural technicians, midwives, nurses, rural community organizers etc...

The data system that was sought to be obtained by compiling the dossier aimed to bring out the practices and structures that touched on demography, family life and human sexuality and their relationships with the environ–

ment and the economic and social system. Throughout, the significance of giving a prominent place to the observation of the family system in relation to the kinship system was stressed, because of the importance they may have in the study of themes directly linked with demography and sexuality, without forgetting either that certain anthropologists consider kinship relationships to be the dominant factor in the traditional social system.

The data-collection guide for the dossier is given as Annex I, and its essential features are reproduced below :

1. Natural resources and their exploitation
2. Relationship between the kinship system and the productive system, or the whole of the economy
3. Socio-political organization
4. Integration and social participation (primary and secondary socialization processes)
5. Demographic data of the social sector under study
6. Family and fertility (family structure and behaviours related directly to fertility)
7. The religious system and behaviours regarding population problems
8. Sexuality, its representation and social practices.

b) *The socio-anthropological inquiries*

So as to grasp the socio-cultural data from the inside, it was proposed to use an anthropological inquiry (by calculating at times the tenuous thread that separates the sociological and the anthropological approach) which could operate on two methodological levels : a relatively broad-based one and a deeper one. These two kinds of investigation are wholly complementary, even though they follow different inquiry techniques.

i) *At the first level*, it is a matter of identifying, through careful selection, a sample within the target groups (adolescents, parents, teachers) that is as representative as possible of socio-cultural behaviours wherever it has a bearing on population problems – in the broadest sense of the term – placed in the context of their economic and social surrounding. *Semi-directive interview* technique was adopted. In this technique, *for each item in the interview guide*, the interviewer was to pose an initial problem as clearly as possible and then let the interviewee answer, expanding upon it in his own way as much as he liked as long as he continued to provide some information to do with the theme of the investigation. It was thus necessary for the interviewer to be perfectly familiar with his thematic hypotheses so as to follow the logical thread of the interviewee's statements. This pre-supposes as transparent a terminology as possible being shared by the interviewer and the informant. Thus, the conducting of a semi-directive inquiry implies that the items in the guide should preferably be dealt with in line with the informant's logic and not that of the investigator. This being the case, it is the former who should be in the position of setting, or at least altering the order in which the items are tackled, and the interviewer must endeavour to bring up at the right moment those items which have not been directly dealt with by the subject.

In a highly indicative manner, the research outline recommended that about one hundred semi-directive interviews, divided up among the various categories of the sample, be effected.

ii) *At the second level*, it was sought to explore more deeply the problems brought out by the first level of the inquiry. This time, however, the aim was to leave the informant complete liberty of expression through the use of *autobiographical interview* techniques. Use of autobiography, in that it proposes a meaningful framework which has not, however, been shaped from the outside, makes it possible to count on maximum freedom of expression on the part of the subject. By telling the "story of his life", the subject himself establishes far more truthfully the logical connections between the items he describes, and it is thus far more likely that the internal structure of the socio-cultural system of reference will be comprehended.

In this procedure, the quality of the communication between the interviewer and the informant is even more important than in the semi-directive interview. The autobiographical interview can only be practised within a limited field and on a limited number of subjects in view of the investment it calls for. It was suggested that in each case study, ten or twelve autobiographical interviews at most be conducted.

In Annex II, a semi-directive interview guide is given, taken from the Rwanda study, as a specimen. The interview guides – proposed by the Population Education Section – were drawn up separately for parents, adolescents and educators and contained comparable major headings with the necessary adjustments to take into account the category of the subject of inquiry : curriculum vitae, kinship system and productive system, socialization, demography, outlook concerning teaching and population education. It is to be noted that these themes partially overlap those of the dossier, making for several sets of observations on the same group of phenomena.

It was specified that, as in the case of the dossier, each team in charge of the study had perfect freedom to adapt the operating procedure to suit its own particular situation, while closely following the basic direction of the overall research outline.

When sorting through the results of the inquiries and the dossier, each team was required to bring out the substance of the information drawn from the two sources that will support and sustain a population education programme adapted to the socio-cultural context of the groups for which they are intended.

It is in the light of these general background details that the synthesis of each case study should be approached.

Socio-cultural case study for population education in Morocco

Synthesis of the study by F. Mernissi and M. El Belghiti, University Mohammed V, Rabat

Population Education Section, Paris

14

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Pages

FOREWORD 21

CHAPTER I – MOROCCO – GENERAL PRESENTATION 23

1. SOCIO-ECONOMIC DATA 24

2. POPULATION DATA 25

3. EDUCATIONAL DATA 25

CHAPTER II – METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY 29

1. SAMPLE EXPLORED BY THE RESEARCH TEAMS 29

2. THE RESEARCH TEAM 29

3. CONDUCTING THE RESEARCH 29
a) The time factor 29
b) Choice of communities for inquiry 30
c) Involvement of sample groups in the inquiry's progress 30

CHAPTER III – MOROCCAN SOCIO-CULTURAL DATA AND OUTLOOK FOR POPULATION EDUCATION 32

I – DOUAR BGGARA, A VILLAGE ON THE COASTAL PLAIN OF THE GHARB . 32

1. OVERALL PRESENTATION OF BGGARA 32
a) Demographic data 32
b) The agrarian structure 32

2. THE PEASANTS' MESSAGE AND WHAT IT DISCLOSES OF THE SOCIAL PERCEPTION OF POPULATION PROBLEMS 33

THEME ONE: THE ASPIRATION TO WELL-BEING: HEALTH AS A COMPLETE REORGANIZATION OF THE ENVIRONMENT 33
a) The water problem 33
b) The problem of access to medical services and its impact of the perception of population problems, especially family planning practices 34

THEME TWO: THE ASPIRATION TO WELL-BEING: EDUCATION AND ASPIRATIONS FOR A "MODERN" JOB AS A TOTAL TRADITIONAL PEASANTRY 34

a) Rejection of the Koranic school as anachronistic and trust in the inaccessible modern school 35
b) The disrupted modern school: its effect on the image of woman and her role in society: "Diplomas for the daughters of the rich; wage-earning, unemployment and prostitution for the rest" 36

THEME THREE: ELECTRIFICATION AS A MEANS OF EDUCATING ADULTS AND CHILDREN THROUGH TELEVISION 37

3. THE TECHNICIANS' MESSAGE: PERSONNEL MOST INVOLVED WITH POPULATION EDUCATION QUESTIONS 37
a) The "message" of the public health service technician 38
b) The "message" of educational personnel: echoing the peasants' message 39

II – DOUAR SIDI ADDI, AZROU REGION, MID-ATLAS 41

1. GENERAL DATA 41
a) History 41
b) The agro-pastoral way of life and its evolution 41
c) Decisive elements in the choice of the Azrou community 41

2. THE RESULTS OF THE INQUIRY – SEDENTARIZATION WITHIN THE AGRO – PASTORAL FAMILY 42
POINT 1 THE DUALITY OF THE WOMAN'S SITUATION 42
POINT 2 NEW ATTITUDES AND OLD DEMANDS 43
POINT 3 FORMATION OF A WORKING-CLASS, DOWRY, EARLY MARRIAGE, REMARRIAGE OF THE AGED AND FAMILY INSTABILITY 43
POINT 4 PROSTITUTION: A FEATURE OF RURAL STRUCTURE 44

3. SOCIALIZATION, AGGRAVATION OF CULTURAL SEGREGATION AND EMIGRATION 44
POINT 1 REJECTION OF THE COLONIAL SCHOOL AS AN INSTRUMENT OF DEPERSONALIZATION 44
POINT 2 THE TEACHERS' POINT-OF-VIEW: PARENTAL AUTHORITY, TEACHERS' AUTHORITY 44
POINT 3 AGGRAVATION OF CULTURAL SEGREGATION TO THE DETRIMENT OF CHILDREN OF POOR FAMILIES – THE SEX FACTOR 45

4. NEW NEEDS IN HEALTH AND SEX EDUCATION 45
POINT 1 CHANGING ATTITUDES TOWARDS TRADITIONAL PRACTICES AND INFATUATION WITH MEDICINE. MOTHERS' HEALTH, FAMILY PLANNING AND SEX EDUCATION 45
POINT 2 MEDICAL SERVICE STRUCTURES AND THEIR SHORT COMINGS .. 46

III – THE OCEAN DISTRICT IN THE URBAN AREA OF RABAT-SALE 46

1. GENERAL DATA – PRESENTATION OF THE OCEAN COMMUNITY 46
a) Demographic and socio-economic data of the Rabat-Sale urban area 46
b) Choice of community and direction of the inquiry 47

2. THE DISTRICT INHABITANTS ANALYSIS OF THEIR OWN SITUATION 47
POINT 1 THE HOUSING SITUATION AND UNDER-EQUIPMENT: OBSTACLES TO CHANGE 47
POINT 2 UNWANTED PREGNANCIES AND THE AWARENESS OF NUMBER . 47
POINT 3 COMMUNICATING WITH THE OUTSIDE: CONFINEMENT AND ILLITERACY AS BLOCKING FACTORS FOR WOMEN KEEPING THEM IN THEIR TRADITIONAL ROLES 47

POINT 4 SOCIALIZATION AND DISINTEGRATION OF FAMILY STRUCTURES 48

POINT 5 ILLITERACY AND THE SCHOOL – THE POWER OF KNOWLEDGE . 48

CHAPTER IV – COMPARATIVE INTERPRETATION OF THE ANALYZED SITUATIONS AS A BASIS FOR ESTABLISHING AN OPINION ON POPULATION EDUCATION 50

IDEA I The peasant and the poor town-dweller of rural origin both reject their traditional lot and want radical changes in their relations with their environments 50

IDEA II: The notion of individual profitability in the family and its effects on demographic behaviours, the influence of historical, economic, social and political factors . 51

IDEA III: Belief in an all-powerful State that is capable of promoting a far-reaching agrarian reform would explain the peasants' attitudes and behaviour in relation to population phenomena such as emigration, early marriage, adolescent unemployment and family size 52

IDEA IV Belief in the power of technology to solve population problems: television as a means to self-education and escape from illiteracy 52

CHAPTER V – OPERATIONAL PROPOSALS FOR USING THE FINDINGS OF THE STUDY IN DEVELOPING POPULATION EDUCATION ACTIVITIES 54

PROJECTS I and II: SEMINARS AND RESEARCH PROGRAMMES 54

A. SEMINAR THEMES 54

Theme I The perception of sex roles 54

Theme II Health and education: traditional and modern practices. The problem of traditional or modern contraceptive methods in relation to population questions 55

Theme III The school and its roles in the community in respect of population questions 55

Theme IV The mass media: television and radio, and their use in providing population education 56

B. ORGANIZATION OF THE SEMINAR: STATUS AND SEX OF THE ORGANIZERS AND PARTICIPANTS AND VENUE FOR SUCH SEMINARS 56

C. PHASES OF THE SEMINARS 56

D. USE OF MATERIAL COLLECTED 56

PROJECT III: MULTI-PURPOSE CENTRE 57

CONCLUSION 57

TABLES

Pages

TABLE I : School Pyramid 1972-73 27

TABLE II : Organizational Chart 1973-1974 28

SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHY 58

FOREWORD

The team in charge of the socio-cultural study in Morocco comprised Mrs. Fatima MERNISSI, a sociologist and Senior Lecturer at the Faculty of Arts, University Mohammed V, and Mrs. Malika EL-BELGHITI, a rural sociologist. This team carried out a sizeable and important work resulting in a document which brings together the results of the inquiries conducted in the three selected areas of operation – one in the urban and two in the rural milieu of Morocco.

The constraints inherent in the preparation of the overall synthesis has only allowed us to present an organized set of excerpts from this document. The synthesis has been prepared with the help of Mr. Roland Colin, Consultant, Population Education Section, Unesco, Paris who has also written the first chapter giving the general background to the Moroccan case study. Great attention has been given, in the inevitable task of cutting down the original text, to ensure that the most significant information is retained. Its full version will be very useful in the future planning of a range of educational programmes, and especially of population education programmes.

CHAPTER I

MOROCCO – GENERAL PRESENTATION

"Morocco is the only Arab country which borders both the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. Situated in a promontory in the North West of the African continent, it runs along some thousand kilometres of coastline, two thirds of them on the Atlantic Ocean. Discounting the Sahara, the Moroccan quadrilateral covers the same surface area as the "Hexagon" of France. It is of course considerably further to the South, with Tangiers on the latitude of Teheran or Tokyo, Marrakesh on the same latitude as Ourgla, Jerusalem or Shanghai. To the two seas which wash its shores, the former Kingdom of Fez, Morocco, the Sus and the Tafilâlt owes its moderate features, a sharp contrast to the massive and mountainous North African geography which culminates in the Tubkâl, over four thousand metres high.

The mountain chains – Rif, great or high-Atlas, mid-Atlas, anti-Atlas – open out towards the West as extensions of the Algerian folds. They contain the plains of El Gharb, the Shawiya and the Sus, leaving to one side the high-altitude plateaux of eastern Morocco. Thus, the country is divided into natural regions of astonishing variety". (1)

This descriptive outline highlights certain essential features of Morocco which, throughout the 450,000 km^2 it covers (to which must be added the Sahara territory which has recently been included in the Moroccan Kingdom), offer the contrast of two characteristic images : low-lying plainland Morocco and Morocco of the mountainous massifs.

History bears the heavy imprint of the divisions between these natural regions. In olden times, the population was part of the Berber civilization. At the beginning of the Christian era, it underwent a first wave of Roman colonization (Tingitanian Mauretania), then in 681 the Arab-Muslim conquest transformed the power system and Arabic replaced Latin. One century later the Kingdom of Fez was created. Following a succession of Muslim dynasties, Arabic culture grew to equal Berber culture, without destroying it. The Morocco of the plains got arabised much more deeply than the Morocco of the mountains, which firmly held on to its Berber cultural bases and has done so up to the modern times.

European incursions began in 1415 with the Portuguese settlement in Ceuta, but their pressure was felt only towards the middle of the 19th century with the development of economic competition linked to colonial expansion between the European powers. The Spanish got a foothold in Tetuan and then withdrew in 1860. Then, it was not before the early twentieth century that colonial rivalries came to a head. In 1904 England handed over its sphere of influence to the benefit of France in exchange for a reverse operation in Egypt. In 1912 a Treaty was signed which placed the Moroccan kingdom under a French protectorate. This was the beginning of a period of colonization (44 years) which brought with it far-reaching changes in the established cultural and social systems.

The French colonial authorities took control of the most fertile agricultural lands, in the provinces of the maritime plains in particular. The first signs of industrialization appeared along the western Atlantic seaboard with the creation of important modern urban centres, especially the towns such as Rabat-Salé and Casablanca. The addition of French culture to the existing Berber and Arabic cultures constituted the third cultural component. The colonial administration attempted to encourage the identity of the Berber culture to avoid a joining-of-forces between the Berber and Arabic movements in any heavy upswell of nationalist feeling. This upswell nevertheless, developed in an irresistible surge leading to the recognition by France and Spain of Moroccan independence in 1956. The Berber Dahir had just been repealed, and King Mohammed V regained possession of the throne of Morocco after a two-year period in exile.

Morocco then turned its attention to the challenges of modernization and development. To the two traditional facets of Morocco – that of the plains marked by Arab-culture which had been profoundly affected by colonial agricultural practices, and that of the Berber mountains, far more attached to the structures of a traditional agro-pastoral civilization – came to be added a third : Morocco of recent urbanization, heavily influenced by foreign industrial penetration and a pole of attraction for out-migration from the rural areas.

The tradition however retains its place. "Tradition requires, in order to become firmly established as much activity as "progress" : only the meaning and direction of action are different in the two cases. The notion of an eternal tradition that is self-sustaining is but an illusion of liberalism and is based on its negative characteristics. To say that the strength of tradition lies in inertia appears to

(1) Monteil V., *Maroc*, Editions du Seuil, Paris, new edition 1978, pp. 4 - 5.

be a mere game of words because tradition does not reflect the reality of those who are presented as being traditionalists nor can it obtain any support from them. According to the elite who operate in a particular way in order to be able to play a role, the strength of tradition is derived from a lack of concrete alternative." (1)

The problem of unemployment is one factor common to all the three components. It is related to the cultural crisis which is the outcome of the confrontation between new and old lifestyles and their attendant socio-cultural behaviour patterns. In this setting population problems are among the acute difficulties encountered, and in this, the inter-relationship between socio-cultural behaviours and the evolution of the educational system emerge as being of fundamental importance.

The present socio-cultural study is situated in this context, and aims to clarify options and practices which may lead to the formulation of a relevant response to the problems observed in the field of population education. It will naturally be shaped on the three major features of contemporary Morocco : Arabic Morocco of the plains, Berber Morocco of the mountains, working-class Morocco of the towns, but it must be borne in mind that in a brief study the choice of samples is necessarily restricted and incomplete, and a certain number of disproportionate simplifications cannot be avoided. The operation carried out must therefore be seen only as a phase which must be critically examined and rectified but which is nevertheless a vital step towards further experimentation and action.

Before going on to present the substance of the results obtained by the research teams, it is necessary to present a summary picture of population data and the educational system, with an introductory overview of the socio-economic data of the country, thus :

1) The socio-economic data

2) The population data

3) The educational data

1. SOCIO-ECONOMIC DATA

Morocco is a country in the midst of economic transformation, which is predominantly agrarian at the present time, but where the importance of urbanization and of industrial and mining activities, as well as those of the tertiary sector, is growing steadily. It would not be possible within the terms of the present study to present a full picture of socio-economic data, and we shall merely outline here certain particularly characteristic facts and figures which will serve to illustrate the general issues involved in Morocco's development.

Total population (1977)	18 300 000
Gross national product par capita	US $ 550
Average annual GNP growth 1960 – 1977	2.2 per cent
Average annual rate of inflation :	
1960 – 70	2.2 per cent
1970 – 77	8.9 per cent

The *World Development Report* prepared in 1979 by the World Bank (2) gives the following figures (3) :

The average 1975-77 food production per capita showed a figure of 78 for 1975-77 compared to 1969-71 base of 100, representing a drop of 22 per cent in production per capita.

The average annual growth rates in gross domestic product (GDP) by sector was estimated as follows :

In agriculture :	1960 – 1970	4.2 per cent
	1970 – 1977	0.6 " "
In industry :	1960 – 1970	4.2 " "
	1970 – 1977	7.8 " "

The foreign trade balance in 1977 indicated imports worth $3,194 million and exports totalling $1,300.

The economic crisis has a significant impact on the Moroccan economy because of the latter's high energy dependence. (Whereas Moroccan energy production shows a drop of 0.2 per cent in 1974-1976, consumption over the same period rose by 2.7 per cent.

True, in the mineral field, Morocco enjoys one considerable resource : phosphate representing more than 50 per cent of identified world reserves. In 1974 phosphate exports totalled 19 million tonnes and the price had tripled, but the fluctuations on the international markets led to a sharp fall in the rate the following year.

In agriculture, the most important labour-absorbing sector of the economy (53 per cent of population in 1977, compared with 19 per cent in industry and 28 per cent in the services), the situation is characterized by a serious split between the modernized agrarian system, profoundly receptive to capitalist enterprise, and the traditional agriculture. A recent study described the discrepancies observed in the following terms : "In 1975, 85 per cent of peasant families (10 million people) owned a maximum of 5 hectares and, in all, disposed of only 35 per cent of the total arable land. At the other end of the social scale, 3 per cent of the land-owners are in possession of 33 per cent of cultivated land which is found (...) in the most fertile areas of the country" (4). This difficult social situation has given rise to a strong migratory current towards urban Morocco and also towards Europe, particularly France, where migrant Moroccan workers totalled 376,000 in 1975, according to statistics issued by the French Ministry of the Interior. Conversely, over a millon and a half foreign tourists visit Morocco each year ; however, the foreign currency inflow and the resulting economic activity do not have any positive effect on the social imbalances. This general background should make for a better grasp of the population problems.

---

(1) Laraoui, A. *Crise des Intellectuels Arabes*, Maspero 1974, pp. 54-55

(2) World Bank, *World Development Report 1979*, Washington, August 1979.

(3) These figures do not include former Spanish Sahara, recently attached to Morocco.

(4) Salmi, Jamil. "Maroc, une planification sans developpement", in *Les Temps Modernes*, October 1977, pp. 113 - 147

2. POPULATION DATA

In 1977 the population of Morocco was estimated at 18,300,000 inhabitants, with an average density of 40.6 per square kilometre. In 1975, 37 per cent of the population was in towns and 63 per cent in the rural areas. The average annual rate of growth of urban population between 1970 and 1975 was 4.1 per cent.

Global demographic growth progressed at an average rate of 2.8 per cent per annum between 1970 and 1977, and demographers have put forward the hypothesis of a stationary population situation to be reached in the year 2025, at the level of 71 million inhabitants. In 1977, the gross birth rate was 45 per thousand (50 per thousand in 1960), and the gross mortality rate was 13 per thousand (21 per thousand in 1960). Thus, the mortality rate is showing a much sharper decrease than the natality rate. Life expectancy at birth has risen from 47 years in 1960 to 55 years in 1977. The fertility rate in the same year was 6.5, whilst the proportion of married women using contraceptive devices was estimated at 5 per cent. This situation, examined in the context of the current economic situation and the socio-economic prospects for the country, illustrates the acute severity of the employment problem when measured in demographic terms.

The active population (aged between 15 and 64 years) accounts for 52 per cent of the whole. Its average annual growth rate between 1970 and 1977 was 2.7 per cent and the projection for the period 1977-2000 puts it at a 3.2 per cent per annum.

The study of the structure of the population highlights the considerable proportion of young people, as can be seen in the table below :

Age groups	Men	Women	Total
0 - 14 years	23.4 %	23.3 %	46.7 %
15 - 59 years	24.6 %	24.5 %	49.1 %
60 years and over	2.0 %	2.2 %	4.2 %

The matrimonial situation shows a very high rate of marriage. A study completed in 1974, but whose conclusions seem still to be relevant to the present day, describes it in the following way : "The proportion of married women in the age group 15-44 years represents 82 per cent of the total female population. It would also appear that the age of marriage is very low ; (the study) indicated that 47.5 per cent of women between the ages of 15 and 19 years were married, and that this percentage reached 92.4 per cent for those in the age group 25-29 years". Generally speaking, marriages are concluded at a relatively early age in Morocco. A survey carried out in the rural areas in 1967 showed that the average marriage age was 15.5 years for women and 22.5 years for men. It also rejected the unfounded claim that polygamy was very widespread, by showing that it concerned no more than 3 per cent of marriages (1).

3. EDUCATIONAL DATA

We shall begin by giving some basic statistical data and then go on to describe the organization of the educational system (2). In 1976, primary school enrolment, as a percentage of the relevant age group, was 65 per cent (boys : 82 per cent, girls 47 per cent), whereas in 1960 it was 47 per cent (boys : 67 per cent, girls 27 per cent). The percentage of the relevant age group enrolled in secondary education increased from 5 per cent in 1960 to 17 per cent in 1976, and for higher education, from 1 to 3 per cent (from 1960 to 1975). The proportion of illiterates, which was 86 per cent in 1960, had been reduced to 72 per cent in 1975. It can thus be seen how much sustained efforts have been made to achieve quantitatively significant results in the space of fifteen years. However, this initial overall quantitative description should not be allowed to hide the qualitative problems that still remain highly disquieting and which are given prominence in the "Development Plan for Education and Training in 1973-1977". The pursuit of quantitative development naturally continues, but greater emphasis is placed on achieving a noticeable improvement in the internal efficiency of primary and secondary education and on developing professional training opportunities for secondary school-leavers. Indeed, the issue of adapting the system to actual requirements is a very serious one. This problem may be more clearly understood with a more detailed table of the enrolment situation, on the one hand, and the educational system on the other. (See Tables I and II below : School pyramid 1972-73 and Organizational Chart 1973-74).

The education system, placed under the authority of the Ministry of National Education, comprises three culturally different branches : modern bilingual Arabic/French education, involving 90 per cent of students, traditional Arabic education and education based on the French model which covers the remainder. To this must be added the vast network of Koranic schools run by traditional teachers *(fqih)*, which have played, particularly for the popular classes, a far from negligible role, in the socialization of the children, by transmitting the basic socio-religious ideas and practices.

Primary school comprises five years, and it is divided up in the same way as the French system (CP, CE1, CE2, CM1, CM2). The child starts primary school at the age of seven, and his schooling begins in Arabic. French is introduced as from CE2. Three quarters of the primary school timetable are given over to languages

---

(1) Kingdom of Morocco. Institut national de statistiques et d'économie appliquée. *La Population du Maroc*, Rabat, 1974 (CICRED séries), p. 30.

(2) Figures drawn from the 1979 World Bank Report, *op. cit.*

(French and Arabic) ; along with History, Geography, Mathematics, (arithmetic covers 16 per cent of the time), Science and Applied Technology (1 per cent of the time), and Creativity and enrichment disciplines. The primary cycle is sanctioned by a Primary Education Certificate (CEP).

Primary schools are often overcrowded, and this has meant having to adopt the shift system (pupils divided into two groups using the premises in turn), which affects about 64 per cent of public schools (78 per cent for urban schools and 43 per cent for rural ones). Efficiency is low. Studies covering the period 1967-1972 brought out that effective average attendance through the five primary classes was 9 years, with 41 per cent dropping out before finishing the primary cycle. Repetition rates are exceptionally high.

In 1972-73 only 63 per cent of primary school teachers had an officially recognized professional qualification. This training is acquired over a two-year course to which are admitted after an entrance examination, those completing four years of secondary education. A considerable effort has been made over the last ten years to promote the further training of teachers in Regional Centres of Continuing Training (CRFP) and Centres of Pedagogy (CAP), in addition to television further-training courses.

The secondary level is divided into two cycles, one of four years and the other of three. The first is designed as a common course with a predominance of literary subjects – Arabic, French, religious education, etc. – (60 per cent as against 27 per cent for the sciences and mathematics). This course is sanctioned by the Secondary Education Certificate (CES). The second cycle comprises two streams which constitute an initial choice of direction for the students : the modern arts section (81 per cent of the time devoted to literary subjects – philosophy, Islamic religion and moral, second foreign language etc. – and 10 per cent for sciences and mathematics) and the science section (mathematical and experimental sciences) in which art subjects take up only 42 per cent of the total allocated time, and science subjects 48 per cent. The completion of the second cycle is sanctioned by the Baccalaureate.

Problems of efficiency comparable to those existing in primary school are also present at the secondary level. In 1972, one quarter of students enroled in the first secondary cycle had to repeat, and drop-outs reached 12 per cent.

Higher education is provided in 4 Universities : University Mohammed V in Rabat (with faculties of arts, sciences, medicine, law and political and economic sciences, and the Mohammedia Engineering School) ; University Qarawyin, the centre of Arab culture where Islamic law is taught, together with the Arabic arts and theology, plus two more recent universities : University Hassan II and University Mohammed Ben Abdallah. To these must be added the Higher Normal School ("Ecole Normale Supérieure") which trains teachers for secondary schools and for certain higher technical training institutions. Higher education is also required to make adjustments in order to be able to respond better to the country's problems of development and particularly to meet the training needs of professional and managerial staff.

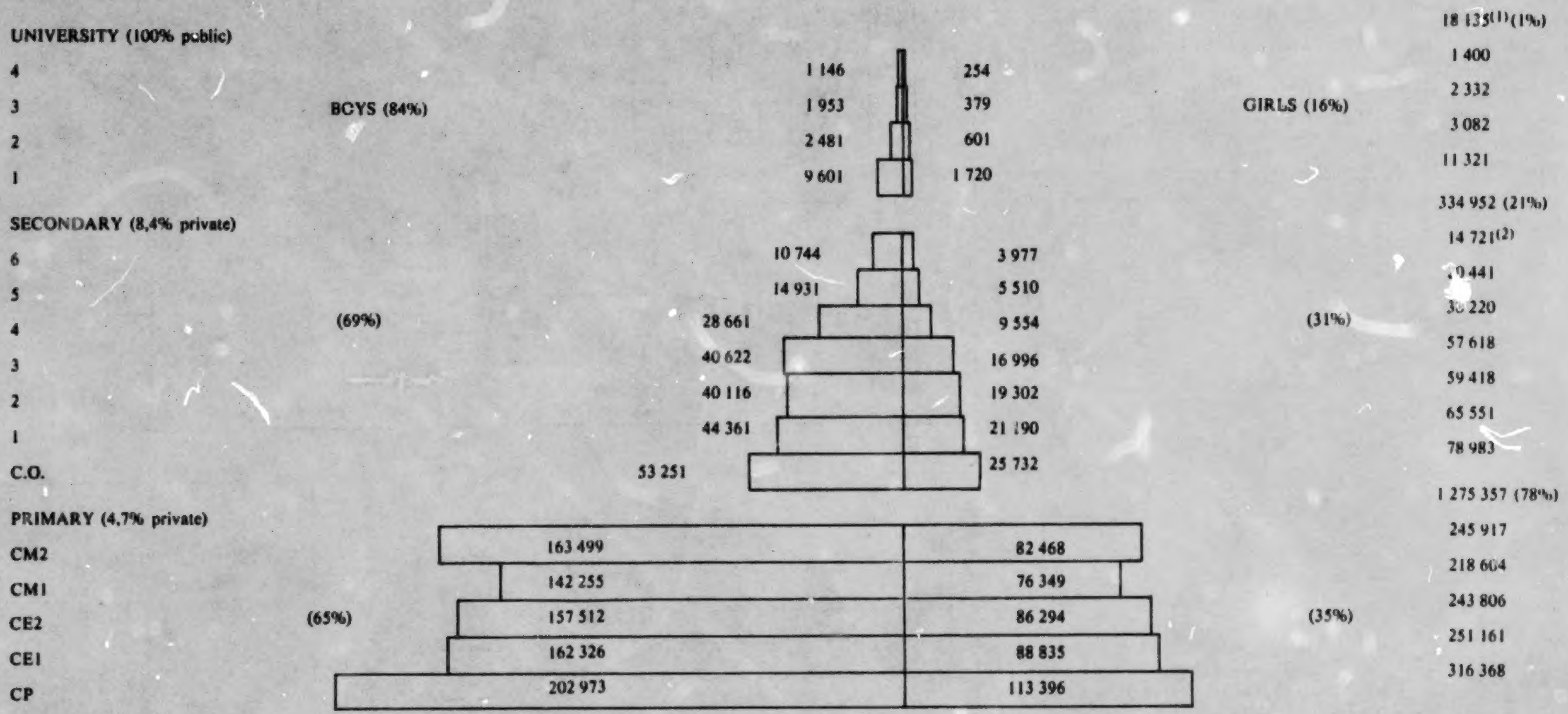
The above comments accompanying this summary description of the Moroccan educational system point out the importance of introducing a series of far-reaching innovations so that education is more closely linked to the development planning effort – a process which was already initiated through the 1973-1977 Five-Year Plan. In the coming period, it is planned to make an in-depth analysis, along the same lines, of the *objectives* of educational development. (1)

Emphasis must therefore be placed on highlighting the usefulness of tying a Population Education strategy to this educational reform strategy. Population education should help promote innovation in both methods and contents. Since it is concerned with development problems in the widest sense of the term, it invites educational practices to seek the means with which to give young people and adults alike the knowledge base and reflective abilities necessary to organize their attitudes and decisions in relation to the new dynamics of development. In this regard, a number of ideas and suggestions are provided by the material gathered during the course of the intercultural studies.

---

(1) See in particular Fikri, M. "The planning of innovation in education – the example of Morocco" in *Reviewing some major problems of educational change in Oman, Morocco, the People's Republic of Benin, Uganda and Peru*. Report Studies C.26, Division of Educational Policy and Planning, Unesco, Paris, 1977

TABLE I : *SCHOOL PYRAMID 1972 – 73*

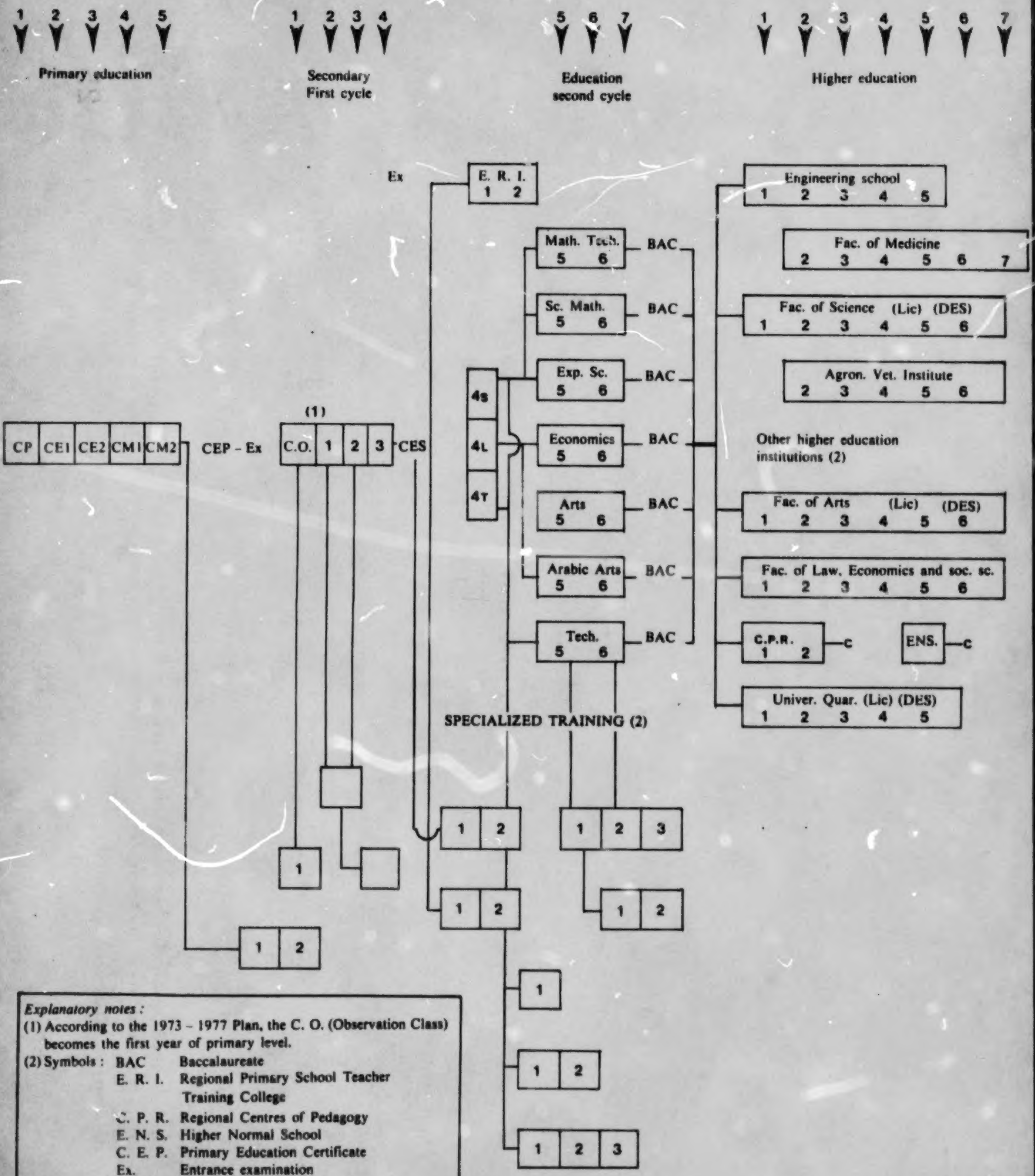


Source : Ministry of National Education (Morocco), Statistical Yearbook

(1) With enrolments in non-University higher education institutions plus numbers of students continuing their studies after the 4th University year, the total was 22 382

(2) Including 744 students in the conversion year.

TABLE II : *ORGANIZATIONAL CHART 1973 - 1974*


1 2 3 4 5
Primary education
1 2 3 4
Secondary
First cycle
5 6 7
Education
second cycle
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Higher education
CP
CE1
CE2
CM1
CM2
CEP - Ex
(1)
C.O.
1 2 3
CES
Ex
E. R. I.
1 2
4S
4L
4T
Math. Tech.
5 6
Sc. Math.
5 6
Exp. Sc.
5 6
Economics
5 6
Arts
5 6
Arabic Arts
5 6
Tech.
5 6
BAC
Engineering school
1 2 3 4 5
Fac. of Medicine
2 3 4 5 6 7
Fac. of Science (Lic) (DES)
1 2 3 4 5 6
Agron. Vet. Institute
2 3 4 5 6
Other higher education
institutions (2)
Fac. of Arts (Lic) (DES)
1 2 3 4 5 6
Fac. of Law, Economics and soc. sc.
1 2 3 4 5 6
C.P.R.
1 2
C
ENS.
C
Univer. Quar. (Lic) (DES)
1 2 3 4 5
SPECIALIZED TRAINING (2)
1 2
1 2 3
1
1 2
1 2
1
1 2
1 2 3
1 2

Explanatory notes :

(1) According to the 1973 - 1977 Plan, the C. O. (Observation Class) becomes the first year of primary level.

(2) Symbols :

BAC	Baccalaureate
E. R. I.	Regional Primary School Teacher Training College
C. P. R.	Regional Centres of Pedagogy
E. N. S.	Higher Normal School
C. E. P.	Primary Education Certificate
Ex.	Entrance examination
C.E.S.	Secondary Education Certificate
C.	Certificate
Lic	Degree
DES	Higher Education Diploma.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The methodology adopted presented a number of difficulties. It was not possible to envisage within the time limit and the means available a study that would be representative of the complete range of socio-cultural realities in Morocco. Those in charge of the study therefore chose the solution of readjusting the study design set forth in the research outline by respecting the basic principle of representativity as an initial approach : cover the three major components of the Moroccan socio-cultural system, that is the rural world of Arabic culture with the *Douar Bggara*, the rural milieu of Berber culture with the *Azra* community and the urban world with the *Ocean* district of Rabat. The problems thus brought to light through this first step call for further and more detailed research. The results of this first phase should make it possible to determine certain important qualitative indicators which will guide the development of a population education programme taking into account the prevailing socio-cultural contexts.

1. SAMPLE EXPLORED BY THE RESEARCH TEAMS

The teams in charge of the research met their informants either in groups or individually, depending on the order of priority imposed by the societal hierarchy and bureaucracy on the one hand, and the wishes of the peasants and their initiatives, on the other hand. These informants were the following :

a) *the Administrative authorities* : Caïds and Sheikhs (1)

b) *Agriculture related services* :

- Technicians working in central government
- Directors of development centres
- Technicians normally intended for agricultural extension.

c) *the Medical Services* : doctors, traditional midwives, nurses, family, planning officials and pharmacists.

d) *the Educational Services* : the teachers.

e) *the Rural Families* : families contacted in their homes, where interviews began with group discussions in which all members of the family, especially the adolescents, took part. Thereafter there were separate interviews with individuals included in the sample. The contacts were built up according to the wishes of the informants themselves, and it was they who took charge of ing the interviews on the basis of their own criteria and priorities.

f) *Community Interviews* : fathers and groups of adolescents, taking place in the village square. These community interviews, like the others, were conducted in line with the initiative of the peasants themselves.

g) *Agricultural workers* of the two sexes, contacted and interviewed at work.

h) *Adolescents of both sexes*, met mostly in schools and who agreed to respond to the interview.

2. THE RESEARCH TEAM

The study was directed and carried out by Fatima Mernissi, sociologist and Senior Lecturer at the Faculty of Arts, University Mohammed V, and Melika El-Belghiti, rural sociologist, with the assistance of full and part-time staff. The latter were often recruited on the spot, particularly amongst the teachers and secondary school students ; they were responsible for collecting the data through the interview guide and for analysing the results, as well as sorting through the statistical documents.

3. CONDUCTING THE RESEARCH

Visits and stays in the communities were decided upon according to inquiry requirements and varied between long stays of two weeks and short ones of one or two days. The seasonal characteristics of rural work imposed such variations. Furthermore, a long strike in the teaching profession had held up the inquiries with the young people during spring.

a) *The time factor* :

The problems raised by the time factor have limited the significance of the results. Indeed, the researchers had to deal with social groups which mistook them for government officials who often gather information necessary for administrative purposes. This implied one limitation on the expected results. In such conditions, these inquiries could only be considered as preliminary ones, as an initial exploration of the various problems faced by the peasant, rather than a final and lasting analysis of these problems.

---

(1) *Sheikh* : representative of the Central Authorities, an inhabitant of the Douar who is designated by the central authorities to represent them.

	Community situated in Azrou : Sidi Addi and Aït Ouahi	Community situated in the Gharb : Douar Bggara
Language	Berber	Arabic
Economy	Based as much on stock rearing as on agriculture	Mostly agriculture
Degree of modernization of agricultural structures	Very low	Very advanced
Geography	Mountain	Atlantic plain

The fact that the results of the study are not fully conclusive, but represent a progress in the social investigation, is reflected by the manner of presentation of the report ; it poses a series of questions rather than provide a set of answers.

Furthermore, a whole range of important topics could not be looked into. To do so would have on the one hand called for more time, but on the other, would have helped develop a certain quality of interviewer/interviewee relationship, particularly for tackling subjects connected with sexuality. The problems of prostitution, venereal disease and contraception from the point of view of biological knowledge, could not be examined at length as they should have been except in the case of the Ocean community. In the latter community, condition of women and the relations between the sexes emerged as a topic of fundamental concern, unlike in the rural communities.

b) *Choice of communities for inquiry* :

The criterion was a geographic one : urban or rural. The Ocean district of Rabat was selected as being representative of the problems occurring in poor, semi-working class families in the urban setting. As for the rural sector, the two communities selected have very different socio-cultural characteristics :

c) *Involvement of sample groups in the inquiry's progress*

Each of the communities posed specific problems of relationships between interviewers and informants.

In the *Douar Bggara* (1), (plain of the Gharb), the investigation focussed on a community whose relations with outside intervention, particularly technical services, have long been fraught with grave difficulties. What is more, the traditional community has been deeply disturbed by the arrival of capitalist agricultural enterprise and the installation of a system of wage-earning employment on a huge scale. In the area studied, the peasants and agricultural workers had a highly active attitude vis-à-vis the inquiry, and went as far as to demand that it cease to be a project inspired from"outside" and take up *their* questions and reflect *their* needs. As a consequence, the inquiry which responded to this demand led to an analysis of predominantly agrarian relations, with population-related issues coming out in second place (2).

This sort of situation needs to be taken into consideration, for the inquiry as it was conducted, does not allow for any scientific assessment of the actual representativity and possible extrapolation of such attitudes. In more systematic studies, it would be important from the methodological viewpoint to study the spatial and social extension of this problem beyond the immediate target area of the study and its close periphery. Without waiting for the outcome of such studies, it can be said already that the results of the present inquiry are qualitatively interesting and liable to contribute towards clarifying the hypotheses for future studies.

The results selected for inclusion in the present document naturally focus on data most directly concerned with population education, while giving due consideration, but in a more synoptic form, to the socio-economic environment.

These above-mentioned considerations apply also to the other two target areas selected for inquiry.

The Berber community of the *Azrou* region in the Middle Atlas proved to be less militant in claiming initiative for directing the inquiry operation, but nevertheless took full part in it (3). The results showed the contradictions between the traditional system of values and structures – which have not undergone far – reaching changes as in case of the aforementioned area – and out–

---

(1) Douar : A unit of rural habitation whose size varies between a few families and some one hundred.

(2) The survey chief for Bggara expressed the "change of power" in the operation in the following terms : "So my survey started in the Gharb in the following way : from the second day the informants were organizing my interviews and arranging my meetings according to their own priorities and way of life. Small discussions took place inside homes with nuclear family members – father, mother, grown-up children. A friend of the couple often came with his wife to support the host's complaints. Evening discussions took place in the open, around the car, in front of the grocer's – a key place in douar life – where some ten peasants would talk of their views on life, death, children, women, work and the land".

(3) Although control of the survey by those concerned was not as insistent as in the case of the Gharb, the survey chief for Azrou experienced the same phenomenon. The communities that were contacted were often very eager to complain, to analyze their situation, to state their claims, and dictated the priorities to be adopted when tackling the topics.

side models. This can be explained by the history of the region, particularly the after-effects of the colonial period which was mentioned above. The survey's results can be more easily linked with the initial outline.

The *third area*, which concerns the semi-working-class area of the *Ocean district in the city of Rabat* is marked by both an irreversible destruction of traditional structures and the persistence of a number of important values and frames of reference which were a part of these structures (especially the perception of the status of men and women) ; but at the same time it failed to display, as it happened in Bggara, any "takeover" of the survey's forms of expression. The conditions of the inquiry thus conformed to more classical methodological hypotheses.

These observations and details explain to some extent the differences in the results obtained.

CHAPTER III

MOROCCAN SOCIO-CULTURAL DATA AND OUTLOOK FOR POPULATION EDUCATION

It is impossible to organize the socio-cultural data on population education gathered through the three surveys into one general synthesis because of the excessively important discrepancies emerging in the very structure of the facts observed. This is why the data is presented in three sections : the first two, *rural-based*, are more closely related to each other, the third, *urban-based*, is more specific. A later section will be devoted to the interpretation of results and to useful comparisons, before going on to examine possible applications in the national educational system.

I. DOUAR BGGARA, A VILLAGE ON THE COASTAL PLAIN OF THE GHARB

1. Overall presentation of Bggara

Bggara is an average-sized Douar situated in the Province of Kénitra in northern Morocco in the triangle running between Kénitra, Tangiers and Meknès.

a) *Demographic data*

Available statistical data from various sources indicate serious variations. This uncertainty had an effect on the inquiry which, due to lack of the means with which to clarify the statistical contradictions, was oriented more towards a *predominantly qualitative* approach.

It can be said that the scope and extent of rural modernization taking place in the capitalist context is such that it has considerably reduced the specific features of peasant communities and has created an astonishing level of uniformity among these communities in terms of attitudes, expectations, demands and aspirations. This is what was revealed by the opinion polls carried out by the survey chief in two other communes in the region (at between 12 and 16 kilometres from Msaada) and which enabled her to suggest that, as regards peasants' expectations, families here hardly think differently from those of Bggara.

The Bggara Douar, comprising 155 families with a population of 949 inhabitants (1), is part of the commune of Msaada which encompasses 12 other Douars. The first statistical discrepancy was encountered here in that the monograph established by the Agriculture Department (2) indicated a total population of 6,810 inhabitants for Msaada in 1978 whereas according to the "Communal data" of the Department of Statistics published in 1977, the population of the Commune of Msaada was said to amount to 24,505 inhabitants. Half its population was reportedly under the age of 15. Consideration should be given to the high proportion of young people between the ages of 7 and 24 years, for they alone go to make up 37.7 per cent of the total number of inhabitants in the commune and their school enrolment figures are both partial and highly superficial. Most of those children and young people enroled do not go beyond the fourth year of primary school. They are then condemned to *unemployed*, for they refuse to carry on traditional agricultural work on the small unprofitable plots of their parents.

According to the peasants themselves, almost all young people are unemployed as a result of this attitude. Since they regard seasonal work – which is highly intermittent and spread out throughout the year – as a form of unemployment affecting boys, girls and adults in exactly the same way, one can only note the divergence between the peasants' view of things and the assessments of the statisticians. According to the latter, unemployment among boys is said to be 2.7 per cent and that of girls as low as 0.6 per cent.

b) *The agrarian structure*

Nature has favoured the region considerably. It was the launching base for a large-scale "rural modernization" operation involving massive capital investment intended to transform the very ecological features of the region : dams, drainage of swamplands, mechanization, etc.

Transfer of land from foreign colonials to nationals, the new agrarian structure and its after-effects

After independence the land was handed over from the colonials not to tribes in the region, but to private-sector Moroccans who bought it.

It must be emphasized, however, that the Gharbaoui peasants' outlook regarding population problems can only be properly understood if this aspect is borne in mind, for it governs their behaviour far more than any other factor. It is because they contest the legitimacy of private landowners, and consider State-run farms to be their own, on the strength of their own interpretation of history, that they continue to have large families, encourage their children to marry at an early age and to have children in their turn, despite the consequent fragmentation of land (varying between 0.70 and 0.60 ha). As they see it, the large private estates should be handed back to them, and the State-run farms should be placed at their service and become the employers of their unemployed children ; such are the deep-seated convictions which motivate their population-related behaviours.

---

(1) Rural population, according to the 1971 General Census, North-West Region, Department of Statistics 1973, p. 27.

(2) *Monographie succincte de la subdivision agricole de Sidi Slimane.* Office Regional de mise en valeur agricole du Gharb, Service de la Production Agricole, Subdivision de Sidi Slimane, 31/10/78, p. 5.

Without going into the detail of the legal procedure which governed the reappropriation of colonial-held land by nationals, suffice it to state that three types of operation were in fact involved :

1) Acquisition of certain estates, often the most fertile and best developed, by private Moroccan capital;

2) Certain estates managed by two State concerns set up for the purpose : SODEA (Soci´t´ de D´veloppement Agricole), whose aim is to "manage farm land which it would be difficult to divide up", and SOGETA (Soci´t´ de la Gestion des Terres Agricoles), whose objective is to manage uncultivated land and expand stock-rearing (1);

3) Distribution of part of the land, within the framework of agrarian reform projects, to the peasants.

As an illustration of the consequences of this transfer of land from the foreign colonials to the nationals, it should be stressed that one of the most important effects of this transfer, an effect which plays a decisive role in the perception of population problems, is the concentration of the best lands in large modern production units run by the State or private owners, on the one hand, and the gradual break-up of the plots exploited by the small peasant farmer, on the other.

The fact that the most profitable crops, such as citrus fruits for example, are in the hands of the State or private landowners, who between them own almost all of the irrigated land, turns the peasants' fixation about the hoped-for State intervention into something bordering on the mystical. Rural modernization programmes supported by heavy investment and development policies are carried out on the lands creating a striking contrast between these lands and those left in the hands of the peasants. This situation weighs heavily on all the problems of society – development, education, population.

2. The peasants' message and what it discloses of the social perception of population problems

The perusal of the interview results enabled the survey chief to draw up the profile of an ideal family as it emerges through peasants' aspirations for well-being and its impact on their perception of population problems.

The profile articulates around three central themes : *health, education, access to electrification* and their consequences on *employment*. Only those data are presented here which clearly reflect the peasants' interpretation of a situation experienced by them and explain their attitude towards population questions. This socio-cultural analysis, carried out "from within the group", in as much as it is presented without distortions, should provide precious insights for the elaboration of population education programmes.

Before going into the results related to each of the three themes, it would be useful to note the indications given by the survey as to *the evolution of group values from traditional fatalism to the quest for well-being in family life*.

Peasantry's aspiration for well-being constitutes in itself a total break from the tradition of fatality and misery which is omnipresent in Moroccan folklore, whether in town or countryside. The notion of "Mektoub" – a type of written work that is often very negative, a pre-determined and unavoidable destiny of suffering, is one of the basic tenets of traditional Moroccan culture which attempts to develop one essential quality in the individual for survival, "essber" – endurance. Endurance in the face of misfortune, poverty, famines and epidemics that were regular occurrences in the people's very short lives(2). Popular songs and poems spoke of this Mektoub, this fatality. Happiness is seen as a myth so far removed from earthly things that it can only be attained elsewhere, in the after-life, in the mirage of Paradise. One of the ways in which Moroccan public opinion managed to justify the material comfort of the French colonials was that they were Christians, people of a different religion who could not gain entry to the Muslim Paradise and therefore lived out their "Paradise on earth". In the actual reality of present-day Gharb, the big landowners are Muslim and also have access to the "earthly Paradise". *The demand for "happiness" here and now marks a fundamental and total break from religious tradition where the Paradise was driven out of the real-life present and pushed into a mythical future*. The demand for a Paradise on earth made by the peasant in the Gharb is formulated around the benefits of capitalist technology, sophisticated machines, virtually magical motors, pumps which bring in water and filter it, schools which open up the road to success, television which opens the door for journeys to the make-believe world. This demand is drawn from the example of the privileged few who do have access to them.

The poor peasant feels excluded from this immediate paradise, thus creating the atmosphere of class struggle which colours even the smallest comment or gesture of the peasants, whatever their age or sex. This demand for well-being can be brought down to three central themes : *health*, the *school/employment* relationship and *electrification*.

Theme one : The aspiration to well-being : health as a complete reorganization of the environment :

The idea of accepting illness and premature death, as a part of each individual's destiny, of his Mektoub, is violently rejected as unjust, because the "rich escape it".

---

(1) Ministry of the Interior : *Monographie*, Cercle de Souk El Arbaa du Gharb, March, 1977.

(2) Triki, H. and Rosenberger, B. *Famines et Epidémies au Maroc au XVI^e et XVII^e siècles*, Hespéris, Vol. XIV and XV, 1974.

a) *The water problem*

The demand for the assurance of individual health is not confined to the demand for health services only, but is expressed primarily as a very pressing demand for the overall control of the environment, centred on the water problem.

The Douar has two means of water supply : wells and the river. The well-to-do inhabitants have covered wells in their homes with a mechanical device to pump the water. In the poor peasants' homes, if they have a well, it is more often than not hand-pumped (it should also be pointed out that the water from the wells is salty and has a very unpleasant taste).

Demands as regards water involve two levels of concern : the nature of the water and the pollution problem which severely affects the poor peasants. These latter have been unable to overcome the obstacles which prevent them from having access to more modern hydraulic equipment, namely dissension between the various social groups and a lack of financial resources.

The second level concerns the traditional role of women as water-bearers, an activity which uses up a considerable proportion of their energy and condemns them to a role of domestic labour, whereas rich women escape from it.

The water chore, in this sense, is *one of the obstacles to the enrolment in school of young girls in the rural world,* since the mother needs this additional labour to cope with her domestic tasks : a young girl at school is one less domestic help. Furthermore, this also explains mothers' eagerness to have more children, particularly girls. It is interesting to point out that mothers like to have as many daughters as sons, and one may even note that a certain degree of anxiety is felt regarding boys due to the very real prospects of unemployment, whereas the desire to have a daughter is largely free from this sort of anxiety.

b) *The problem of access to medical services and its impact on the perception of population problems, especially family planning practices*

Whether rich or poor, the peasant rejects traditional medicine as a cure for illness, and seeks to have access to modern medicine, which in his eyes is the only form capable of ensuring his physical well-being. As in the case of drinking water, this problem has two distinct aspects : that of the peasant's aspirations and that of his actual behaviour.

Although no differences are noticeable between the various social classes as regards the aspirations, huge variations are, however, discernible among them in behaviour patterns. Rich or poor, peasants seek to take advantage of the benefits of modern technology in the health field. They all, without exception, establish a direct connection between access to modern health services and well-being of the family, especially that of the child, before and after his birth, and it is in respect of this latter aspect that frustrations are experienced in the area of medical health.

The way in which a woman gives birth to her children is seen by the families and particularly the mothers themselves as an infallible criterion of prestige, equivalent to purchasing power. Whereas the poor women receive no medical assistance whatsoever during pregnancy and deliver their children in the home with the help of a traditional midwife, the well-to-do women are proud to be under supervision by a doctor from the very first weeks of pregnancy and to give birth in a modern hospital.

To this way of looking at the relationship between access to medical services and childbirth, *family planning* can be added as it is *the area where the changes in attitude towards children are crystallized.*

It is interesting to note that in practice, two distinct behaviours towards family planning can be identified, and these are directly related to the income and degree of material comfort of the family.

i) *The behaviour of the well-to-do families* : these families adopt a planning attitude immediately after the third child. Both men and women are usually highly informed and actively involved in the process.

ii) *The behaviour of the poor peasants* : in the matter of family planning, although they are aware of the need nowadays to invest more in the health and education of children, they observe that they are unable to do so because of their poverty. Even if they agree to reduce the number of children they intend having, the poor peasants hardly improve their situation. Having three children instead of seven provides no extra guarantee for the peasant that his income will have more likelihood of increasing, and therefore he does not see any greater opportunity for access to medical care or education for the children he does have, such is his indigence and the insufficiency of his investments for each child. The funds that a peasant can bring into play for each child are so minimal that the difference between having three or eight children is seen by him as negligible, except for the fact that with eight children he has a better chance of assuring the survival of at least half of them.

For the poor peasant, cutting down the number of children is therefore illogical and totally anti-economic from the point of view of his overall strategy for survival in a context of dire poverty. The yield from the production unit is so inflexible that it is in his interests to increase the number of individuals, of workers and among them children – and above all girls – who are regarded as workhands already as from the age of five.

Adolescents' perception of the child is already different. A survey carried out amongst 115 adolescents of both sexes concerning the ideal size of the family gave the following results :

- out of 72 boys questioned, 34 believed the ideal number of children was less than 3, 37 saw it as being between 3 and 5, and only one said more than 5.
- out of 41 girls interviewed, 25 said they wanted less than 3 children, 14 said they wanted between 3 and 5 and only two said more than 5.

Theme two : The aspiration to well-being : Education and aspirations for a "modern" job as a total rejection of the very condition of traditional peasantry :

Access to education and a "modern" job appear to be the only way to escape from the "traditional" peasant way of life considered to be miserable and degrading. This is reflected in the rejection of the Koranic school and the desire to gain entry into the "Western-type" school.

a) *Rejection of the Koranic school as anachronistic and trust in the inaccessible modern school* :

As with health, the traditional Koranic school is seen by all as inefficient and incapable to preparing the child for access to a modern job. In Bggara, apart from the four classes of the official public primary school, there is a certain number of ***Fqihs*** (male teachers in charge of a Koranic school, taking in children from the age of two) or people acting as such (the case of a tailor who takes in a dozen children whom he watches over and teaches the rudiments of the Koran as he sews the jellabas and tunics of his customers).

Koranic schools are financed by the parents. Each family pays the Fqih a sum of money of approximately 1 DH every Friday. Gifts (eggs, milk, grain) and especially cooked dishes occasionally offered to the Fqih in addition to the money enable him to meet his minimum vital requirements, for the irregular Friday income would hardly otherwise suffice. However, although the Koranic schools exist, no-one has any illusions about their ability to integrate the child into modern life ; adults and children alike see them rather as mere palliatives of limited and incidental importance. The mothers regard them as a very inexpensive system for caretaking of small children, while for the fathers, it is a guarantee that the Fqih will teach his children the rudiments of the Koran and the scriptures. Nevertheless, fathers and mothers are in agreement with their adolescent children who consider that the traditional school hardly prepares children for professional life, whereas in their view preparation for a trade is the most important task of a school.

The high expectations placed in the *modern rural school* are totally out of proportion to the real opportunities for social promotion that it can offer. The incomplete school cycle and the lack of school transport for children are illustrations of the precarious situation of education.

There is one school in Bggara, a prefabricated building dating from the country's independence, containing four classrooms with about forty places in each. It offers primary education up to the fourth year (CM1) only, after which parents have to send their children to Sidi Slimane, some ten kilometres away, for the fifth primary education certificate year. This fifth year is a source of real anxiety and an obstacle which it is almost impossible to overcome, and most schoolchildren from peasant families with little or no land of their own, never manage to collect enough money for this year at school in the nearest town. The fact is that they are forced to choose between two alternatives each of which is equally costly for the peasant's budget. One solution is to lodge the child with friends or distant relatives – this is on the supposition that the host family is sufficiently rich to put up an extra child for nine months without too much hardship, or that the pupil's parents can afford to give presents or do favours to the host family during the nine months in recompense. This hypothesis presupposes that the peasant has relatives in town, and that he can draw on a certain amount of capital (money or services) to ensure the child's lodging for many months.

The second solution involves daily transport of the child (3 DH return) into town and back. This solution is not only expensive, but means that the child must be particularly eager to obtain his education certificate, in view of the effort he will have to make. Even if the peasant can find the necessary money to pay his child's transport, given the irregularity of the available transport services, there is no certainty that the child would arrive in school on time. Furthermore, as winter in the region is very wet and the roads are often under water and flooded, school life is disrupted for months on end in two respects. Firstly, as concerns the operation of the school at Bggara itself, the teachers working there, with one or two exceptions, do not live in the village, and when they can afford it use a small motorcycle as transport. However, to travel the ten kilometres between home and the school during the winter floods calls for such an effort that few feel inclined to do so ; the school is generally closed for lack of teaching staff for a large part of the winter months. As for the students who have to go to town for the certificate year, they are compelled to abandon the attempt for weeks at a time whilst the road communications remain difficult.

The children, forced to travel for kilometres by road, reach school exhausted and have only a bottle of tea and dry bread at lunchtime before starting the afternoon classes. *Fatigue, malnutrition and cold are the three major causes of failure at school,* a phenomenon often brought up by teachers, parents and adolescents themselves.

The school as an institution which produces jobseekers and uproots rural-dwellers :

The attitude of veneration towards modern technology and of rejection of tradition underscore the strange reaction among peasants ; that of protectiveness towards unemployed adolescents. The fact that school does not provide the certificate year classes in Bggara means that students rarely obtain this diploma. The scholastic and professional career of the average adolescent then develops along the following lines :

- the child is sent to the Koranic school from the age of 3 to 7, but whenever the parents need his help, he is released from school requirements;
- the child is enroled at school. Here again, however, parental demands come before those of the school, and this does not help the child to succeed;
- when the child is around 14 or 15 years, he is sent away from school or leaves of his own accord after having failed almost at every level. He then finds himself without a diploma or a grade with which to seek a modern job – seen as the best alternative – either in an office or on State-run or privately-owned farms, and refuses to do the traditional agricultural jobs on his

family's land where technology is primitive and manual work dirty.

Although this profile is fairly widespread both in the town and the countryside, the family is often contemptuous and critical of the adolescent. In Bggara, however, this is in no way the case. The State, and not the adolescent, is held responsible for his unemployment : the child is hardly blamed and he is even looked upon as a victim who needs the support of his parents. The unemployed adolescent is often encouraged to get married at an early age and his father provides for him despite his own financial difficulties. This degree of complacency about unemployed adolescents, so uncommon in Moroccan society which looks down on laziness and values work, can only be understood when seen in the context of the acute class struggle observed in the Gharb. The peasants encourage their unemployed children to have children themselves so as to put pressure on the State and persuade it to redistribute the land to them.

This awareness of social injustice and inequality of opportunities does not, however, lead to any questioning of the inequalities between sexes ; except in a small minority of men found especially among the younger generation. This situation of inequality weighs heavily on girls' access to school.

b) *The disrupted modern school : its effect on the image of woman and her role in society : "Diplomas for the daughters of the rich ; wage-earning, unemployment and prostitution for the rest"*

This title takes up a disillusioned remark made by a young agricultural technician while summing up the situation of woman in the rural world, in a phrase which sounds like a slogan. As he saw it, the new roles of women, as seen in the image of educated girls, driving their cars and working for central goverment, are taken as reference models by everyone, rich or poor, man or woman. However, he went on, these models of women who are an integral part of the modern economy – which is only open to an infinitesimal minority of well-to-do families – help to devalue still further the traditional status of women, which remains the case for the majority.

In the rural community, sex relationship is one of the areas in which the changes are at the same time the most far-reaching and the most conflictual, given the differences and contradictions between men and women in their perception of the changes. Undoubtedly the subject of "sex roles" is one of the topics which starts off the most passionate discussions in rural families or during interviews with groups of peasants. This testifies to the importance and the extent of the changes occurring in this field in the rural areas. The passion to which this subject gives rise could be put to positive use by a teaching strategy bearing on information, training and mobilization in both in-school and out-of-school programmes.

Without exception, the well-to-do rural families consider the traditonal sex roles to be out of date and are adopting and experimenting with new roles. Unlike the traditional woman who saw herself as having only her child-bearing capacity as a means for retaining her husband, and who thus tried all she could to have many children whatever the cost, the wife of the well-to-do peasant, on the contrary, is receptive to other considerations also shared by her husband, which seem to determine her lifestyle : preoccupation with health, leisure activities, etc.

The disintegration of the extended family unit has resulted in the emergence of the notion of the couple, which had previously never managed to gain hold in traditional family structures. The husband's allegiance in the patriarchal family was first and foremost an allegiance towards his parents, and then, towards the tribe or the male group. The young wife was conditioned to lead a marginal life and to behave accordingly. The demand for *"couple status"* and the challenge of the authority of the mother-in-law constitute the major gains of modernity, experienced and defended vigorously by women of whatever class (1).

The affirmation of the notion of the couple also marks the triumph of the young sexualized women, whereas in the traditional family, the woman only gained access to power once she was desexualized. In the couple, the woman, even if she is young, becomes a partner in the management and decision-making including in the economic field.

A national survey carried out by the Institute of Statistics in 1974 reveals the importance of the social class in relation to the degree of economic responsibility exercised by the woman. Such responsibility is exercised only among the wealthier classes. According to the survey, 41 per cent of the heads of family belonging to the upper strata approved of women working ouside the home, whereas only 25 per cent of those from the middle classes were in favour of this. As for the poorer sections, a majority of 67 per cent is against the idea of the working woman, with only 14 per cent in favour (2). The Douar of Bggara and the Gharb region are no exceptions to this nation-wide trend. The same inertia and hostility are found among the heads of poor families as regards the education and employment of women as they are associated with vice. In popular representations, wage-earning leads to prostitution.

As explained by a poor peasant interviewed, these fears concern only the indigent father who is incapable of ensuring the minimum comfort for his daughters so as to prevent them from "being tempted". The taboo linked with virginity leads to the need for the family to make sure that the daughter is still a virgin when she marries. Control in space, control by restricting the movements of the young woman in an area which is delimited and watched over by the group, was one of the most effective means of imposing social norms as regards pre-marital sexuality. An extension of the spacial control imposed by this taboo involves a reduction in the frequency of visits by the young woman to other places, particularly public places which are considered dangerous since it is difficult for the family to keep a watch, the street for instance.

---

(1) Mernissi, F. "The Mother-in-Law" in *Beyond the Veil, Male-Female Dynamics in a Modern Muslim Society*, Halsted Press, New York.

(2) Radi, A. *Adaptation de la Famille Marocaine au Changement Social dans le Maroc Urbain*, Bulletin Economique et Social du Maroc (BESM) 135, p. 22.

34

In actual fact, this taboo only arises as an obstacle to the enrolment of girls, and is only evoked in the case of poor families where, without exception, never was any attempt made to enrol young children of the female sex in schools. This example clearly illustrates how justifications based on "tradition" mask the purely economic reasons, and how "tradition" is invoked to justify girls' non-enrolment in schools. The problem of distance from the school (not applicable to Bggara) is described as one of the obstacles to the enrolment of girls and boys in the twelve surrounding douars situated at least three kilometres from the school. As regards the perception of sex roles, it is interesting to note that the situation is so dynamic in this area that class differences have disappeared among the younger generations : most adolescents, whatever their socio-economic background, see the changes in the condition of women as a positive thing (1).

So as to gauge the importance of age in the perception of the position and role of the woman, and therefore of relations within the family, young people were asked to reply to two questions which were deemed to be informative : *"In your opinion, is the general evolution of women positive or negative* ?" Out of 104 replies, 22 boys and 8 girls believed that it was negative, while 46 boys and 28 girls considered it positive. *"Which is the ideal family, the traditional or the modern one ? Should women work or not ? Are women equal to their husbands or should they obey them ?"* In the overall results for the two sexes, out of the 81 per cent choosing the modern family, 50 per cent wanted the wife to work outside the home, while the remainder opted for the contrary. A breakdown of the results revels that 38 per cent of men wanting a modern family did not wish to see their wives working outside the home and 43 per cent wanted wives to obey their husbands.

On the other hand, amongst the women opting for the modern family. 30 per cent thought women should not work outside the home, but this did not prevent them from calling for equal treatment. Indeed, 96.6 per cent of women thought the woman should be the equal of man, whatever be her choice as regards work.

Generally speaking, it is to be noted that the idea of equality between husband and wife within the family unit, which is contrary to the spirit, the essence and the rules of the Muslim family, has gained ground amongst young people. 61.4 per cent of men and 91.8 per cent of women consider equality in the couple as ideal, irrespective of their views, moreover, about the working woman.

Theme three: Electrification as a means of educating adults and children through television

Electricity is mentioned by all as being a true Godsend from heaven, a magic wand which would resolve any number of problems. The deprival of electricity is seen as an injustice by all peasants whatever their social class ; they feel it as a disablement that is all the more painful because they do not see any justification for it.

The interviews particularly revealed the presence of a great thirst among people for information and modern education. One peasant expressed his views in the following way : "With television, I feel as if I am living in the world – that I am not isolated – and I, too, am building up the knowledge I need and which the scientists have established. I say "I" – I am forgetting the children, who are even more important. The school does not work very well here, so at least that way the children can have access to information. As long as they do not grow up like their father, cut off from the world. We ourselves can do nothing for our children – we cannot teach them anything, we are illiterate. But at least we can buy them a television. If we cannot keep them informed, let them at least have the assurance of being informed by the television. That is why even the poorest peasants take out money for buying the battery from the funds reserved for housekeeping. These days it is not enough to eat a slice of bread to be a human being, one must eat the television, information, education, one must know things. We must know just as much as the town-people know, otherwise they will carry on exploiting us and treating us like donkeys".

3. The technicians' message : personnel most involved with population education questions

Personnel most closely involved in population education are the *public health service* technicians, on the one hand, and those of *education*, on the other. It is recalled that *agricultural technicians* were also included in the inquiry although their area of action essentially covers productive relations. It should be noted, however, that like all other personnel enjoying a higher standard of living, they also contribute to the spread amongst peasant families of "inaccessible promotion models", unlike teachers who tend to be more integrated in the community.

One of the significant results of the qualitative survey is that it has highlighted a fundamental fact in the life of a rural douar, namely the coexistence of parallel ways of thinking and outlooks which rarely lead to a dialogue. Each group, which is defined by its status, its functions and its position in relation to the means of production and the forces that control them, is guided by these very factors to adopt a certain outlook towards development and related problems, and therefore necessarily towards population problems in particular. This outlook is strategic, since it reflects the image the group has of itself and of its contribution to the system and the way it sees itself in the development dynamics, and particularly the way it perceives its own share of the responsibility in creating the problems. Any *educational initiative* intended for the rural community must necessarily take into account the parallel nature of the various outlooks, their plurality and the distances separating these different perceptions of the same problems which confront the community as a whole. Strategically, it is important to have a clear understanding of the nature and degree of "distances" and mutual receptiveness between the groups of technicians and the peasants, because the message will be received all the more easily if the educators or institutions selected for the purpose are already very close to and communicate easily with the peasant.

---

(1) See also, El Belghiti, M. *Les Relations Féminines et le Statut de la Femme dans la Famille Rurale dans trois villages de la Tessaout*, BESM 114, July-September 1969.
– Baron, A.M., "La Famille Prolétarienne" in *Regards sur le Protectorat Marocain*, Faits et Idees, 1954, N° 20.
– El Belghiti M. *La Ségrégation des Garçons et des Filles à la Campagne*, BESM 120-121.
– Forget, N. "Femmes et professions du Maroc" in *Attitudes à l'égard du Travail – Images de la Femme dans la Société*, Editions Ouvrières, 1964.
– Martenson, M. : *Attitudes vis-à-vis du Travail Professionnel de la Femme Marocaine, BESM, January 1966, N° 100.*
– *Camillleri Carmeli : "Une enquête d'opinion sur les Représentations Familiales des Jeunes Tunisiens" in Jeunesse, Famille et Développement*, CNRS, Paris, 1973.

a) *The "message" of the public health service technician*

The public health service is seen by the peasants as a poor answer to community needs. Indeed, the peasants are not even aware of its existence and in their talks they do not make mention of the rare services it provides. According to the poor peasants, the health service personnel never go to visit them, whereas the rich peasants recognize that they have contacts with these services, particularly during the vaccination campaigns when they camp in the village itself. Moreover, the same is the case with all State services, and seems to be a general rule : one of the characteristics of the poor family is that it seems to be incapable of gaining access to the services offered free of charge by the State institutions, whether they be educational, agricultural or sanitary, whereas better-off families know how to take full advantage of such services. Whilst the families themselves attribute the difficulty of access to the deficiencies inherent in the very organization of these services, and believe that a total overhaul is the only way to improve the access situation, the doctors, on the other hand, see the solution in the expansion of the existing services and in an increase in the salaries of personnel, particularly those of the doctors.

In reality, there are two medical infrastructures, one established by the State, but inaccessible to the majority of the members of the community, and the other serving the community and totally disregarded by the authorities. No communication exists between the two worlds and both stagnate, each in its own corner. As the doctor in charge of the medical unit covering Bggara put it, "We are revered, they treat us like saints". It so happens that, despite the peasants' general tendency to venerate modern medicine and its agents, in the actual case of Bggara, the local inhabitants are totally ignorant of it.

For example, the closest dispensary for Bggara is ten kilometres away. According to the doctor, the medical infrastructure which he associates with a modern infrastructure is limited to two doctors, one from the public health service and the other a private practitioner, both operating in their own framework and covering a popuation estimated at 120,000 inhabitants. He has at his disposal a staff of forty-four people who run the hospital in Sidi Slimane (twenty beds) and four dispensaries scattered around a region whose population density is 120 inhabitants per square kilometre.

As for the midwife, she is omnipresent and essential in the life of the child and its mother ; the poor peasants do not even know that modern facilities exist at the hospital. They only go into the hospital to give birth in emergency cases of extreme seriousness which go beyond the elementary skills of the midwife. The midwife covering Bggara is at least 70 years old, is deaf and half blind. Unlike the doctor, she enjoys great prestige and indeed receives much affection from the people ; they do not place much faith in her skills, but attribute her with some sort of comforting power, of "Baraka" which is beyond her own control and results from her continual contact with life-giving blood.

The doctor at Bggara is probably the only technician who is satisfied with what he does. While all the others very acutely sense their inability to face up to the problems which it is their speciality to solve. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the masses continue to turn to traditional medical practices through superstition and magic : "It is what they are used to, and the influence of their surroundings. The environment is a great influence, you know. However, they do come to see the doctor, despite their superstitions".

Besides superstition, the doctor attributes the irregular visits to modern medical structures to the lack of facilities, and has no hesitation in stressing what he sees as a key aspect : *the impact of the radio* and above all of *the television*. "Whenever there is a medical programme on television about a particular illness, the next day I receive dozens of clients who come to find out if they had the symptoms or not".

Although the doctor believes that television has considerable impact on the medical field, he excludes one aspect where, in his opinion, it has failed : *family planning*. His attitude in this field appears to be ambiguous, however. According to him, the family planning campaign has been a failure. However, while listening carefully to him, one wondered whether it was not a projection of his own attitude – unfavourable – towards family planning methods, to the extent that he himself was not entirely convinced of the merits of recommending their use, even in cases where women who were desperate came and asked him for it. His negative attitude was all the more ambiguous in that he did not appear to be really interested in the problem nor well informed about it.

Even though the doctor was aware of the economic dimension of the medical service, of such factors as distance, transport costs and peasants' poverty, which are decisive in the peasants' choice of medical practice, when it came to solutions, he did not envisage like the peasants did, the need to create an overall infrastructure covering all aspects of hygiene (drinking water, sewers, electricity, drainage of interior courtyards of houses). He hardly questioned the existing structures and organization of the service. An increase in doctors' salaries, expansion of the service so as to widen its coverage capacity and development of itinerant preventive services (vaccination campaigns) constitute appropriate solutions in his eyes. He could not think, for example, of making mothers self-sufficient in medical matters by teaching them the basics of hygiene and medicine – which is what they already do with traditional practices and knowledge. Medical knowledge in the traditional society was not a closely guarded secret – except in very special and complex cases. It was and is considered rather as a collective heritage available to all those who are keen to learn about it.

b) *The "message" of educational personnel : echoing the peasants' message*

Unlike the doctor who is somewhat removed from the day-to-day worries of his fellow citizens' lives, the teacher is revealed as being a worried, anxious man, aware of the failure of the school and therefore of his own failure as a technician, and seems deeply committed to the analysis of that failure and how it has come about. As an educator, he is closer to the population, to which he associates himself more closely through his lifestyle and his material concerns. Often of rural origin, the teacher identifies himself with the pupils and their aspirations. He has good contacts with parents whom he believes he has been entrusted with the task of conscientizing. Thus, for several reasons, the teacher is destined to become the central agent of any educational initiative, whether intended for young people or adults. This conclusion comes firstly as a result of the analysis of the rural school.

As we have seen, the school in Bggara contains four classrooms and employs eight teachers, *all male* – difficulties of access to the school tend to discourage prospective women teachers. The number of students is approximately four hundred. It is open, together with one other school, to the whole commune of Msaada, comprising the population of several douars. According to the teachers, most students live at least eight kilometres from the school. As the number of students is too high, the teachers have divided themselves up into two separate groups and have divided the total number of students into two groups which occupy the premises at different times of the day :

The *first group* starts school at seven thirty in the morning and goes on until ten past ten ; then they stay in the school playground until one o'clock in the afternoon, when they return to the classroom for the second part of their day's lessons, ending at 15.40.

The *second group* starts lessons at 10.15 a.m. and goes on until one o'clock ; the pupils then wait until 15.45 before going back to the classroom and work until 18.25.

The number of pupils per class is as follows :

1st year : two classes of 62 pupils each,
2nd year : two classes of 43 pupils each,
3rd year : two classes of 43 and 42 pupils respectively,
4th year : one class of 44 pupils.

Pupils who pass the fourth year must go on to the fifth year in Sidi Slimane, the nearest town, to complete their studies. It has been estimated by the teachers that the number of pupils who manage to obtain their Primary Education Certificate at the end of the five years of primary education corresponds to about 5 per cent of the total number enroled in the first year. According to the teachers, the main cause of the failure of the school programme in the rural areas is that it takes very little account of the *specificities of rural life*, particularly the very low standards of living of the population and its particular lifestyle, which calls for a reorganization of the school in terms of both structure and *content of lessons* ; this point will be examined at greater length below in view of its importance for the entire educational system and the contribution which could be made by pedagogical innovations such as population education towards solving this type of problem.

i) *Evaluation of the school, seen by teachers as a stimulating or alienating element*

The teachers' "message" has one thing peculiar to it, and that is that it constitutes an echo of what the peasants think in most cases. This similarity of outlook reflects indeed the teacher's receptiveness to and understanding of the peasants' situation, for, despite the few advantages he enjoys, the teacher remains very poor and is forced to adopt a lifestyle which puts him closer to the peasants rather than to the other local technicians.

● *The lifestyle of the rural schoolteacher governs his views of the problems of the community in which he lives*

For example, unlike the agricultural and health service technicians who have more comfortable lodgings and drive cars, the teachers are often put up by a local inhabitant or, if they come from the nearest town, live in the shanty-town and, if they can afford it, use a small motorcycle. The fact that their salary is low obliges them to choose between lodging with a local inhabitant and becoming an integral part of the life of the douar, or living in the nearest town, thus adding transport costs to a very high rent. Being married, and having a wife whether or not she works, is a factor in his choice of residence. The young single teacher prefers to live in the town for obvious reasons, including the lack of amusements or social life in the village after sunset. Due to the heavy costs of maintaining a family, married and/or older teachers often opt for the village (except in the very rare cases where the wife works).

As stated earlier, all the teachers in the village are men. The difficult living and working conditions of the schoolteacher in the countryside are discouraging to women teachers as they present nothing but disadvantages. The absence of domestic amenities (drinking water, electricity, sewerage) renders their housekeeping chores all the more strenuous. Even if they were to live in the town, as women they would have just as many difficulties in travelling along deserted roads very early in the morning or very late at night to and from the school.

The absence of women teachers in the rural area deprives the community of the only opportunity it has of coming into contact with women who have assumed new roles considered prestigious. The wives of agricultural or health service personnel and other women engaged in modern professional activities live in the town, or lead a life apart from the rural community which leaves the latter without any possibility of access, in its milieu, to new, positive female models. This results in the fairly widespread negative attitude concerning work for women in the village where it is limited to poorly paid seasonal wage employment, the insecurity and irregularity of which predispose them either to prostitution or to an excessive retreat into the domectic sphere.

● *The failure of the school as a determining factor of high birth rate, and vice versa*

According to the teachers, one of the reasons for the incessant growth in population is the extreme poverty of the peasants. Instead of having two or three children and encouraging the full development of their potentialities by giving them education and the possibility of access to a higher standard of living – thus raising the quality of life of the whole family – parents are obliged, simply in order to survive and to assure support in their old age, to increase the number of children, the only element over which they have any control. Given the very high infant mortality rate resulting particularly from the lack of modern medical facilities, the parents see their interests in having as large a family as possible. Thus, the teachers' views are very close to those of the peasants. They are convinced that a school which forms "producers" and not "job-seekers" would set in motion a dynamic of social advancement leading to a general improvement in peasant life and encourage young people to limit the number of children so as to increase the opportunities for advancement (1).

ii) *Teachers' views concerning the causes of failure of the school in the rural milieu*

According to the teachers, the failure of the rural school can hardly be attributed to peasants' habits, or to their resistance, as is often claimed by other technicians especially in the health service. In their opinion, the causes of its failure are found in the economic and pedagogical factors : the economic factor is related to the inadequacies of the school infrastructure which takes little account of the specific needs of the rural world, particularly the dispersion of rural settlements. The others concern the quality of the teaching material itself, especially the text books in use. The first factor – inadequacies of the infrastructure – includes the problems of school space and use of shift system, the shortcomings in transport, electricity, heating and caneteen facilities and the non-existence of the fifth year class.

The *content deficiencies of the teaching materials are as serious as the infrastructural deficiencies.* The class text books are designed by centralized bodies of the Ministry of National Education, which set the nature and number of documents to be used by the teacher, and leave him nod scope for individual initiative, not even in respect of the time allotted for each subject. As a whole, teachers believe that the *content of language textbooks* (Al-Muhadata) is designed for an urban, westernized public, and that such books speak to the rural child of things he does not know : "The pavement, the tap, the paved floor, the room for particular uses – bedroom, sitting-room, dining-room... a whole way of life which is totally unknown, since it does not exist in the child's own environment. So the child starts already to think that something is wrong – his life is not like the life of the people in the book (...), to have complexes, and to be ashamed of his peasant condition. The content of the textbook *must* reflect the child's reality". Such are the words of a young, 25-year-old teacher.

Photographic reproductions and illustrations in both Arabic and French reading books relate to town people and never to rural inhabitants : "In "Bien Lire et Comprendre" (Reading and Understanding correctly) the people are blond-haired, with Frenchmen's faces and dogs on leads ; the father wears a tie and carries an attach'-case, the mother has a flowery apron and curly hair done by a hairdresser, so the child cannot stand his parents any more. He finds them grotesque ; television does not help much to make the child think he is normal either. As a result, the youth reject the conditions and the way of life of the peasant. They hate their environment and the frustations that it represents to them, and the class textbooks play a significant role in this self-criticism. "You see, nothing much is done to change the peasant's lot, and he is forced to see himself as somebody abnormal, primitive, and the textbook is one of the most effective instruments for this alienation. The rural adolescent no longer wants to devote himself to agricultural work or to live the life of a douar. He wants to get away from it, takes to drugs, for real escape is impossible, unemployment lies in wait for him". (Teacher aged 25).

The content of religious education is on the whole inadequate, since it gives prominence to the theoretical over the practical aspects : "People speak to the children of particular theologians, what they said and the differences of opinion, instead of actually teaching them, for example, how to pray in real life, that is, doing something real that they can grasp". (It is to be noted, nevertheless, that the teachings of the Koran cover such themes as the place the family should have in a nation, the ties that should exist between the various members of a family, the role of each of the spouses and of the children, marriage, celibacy, motherhood and procreation.)

As for *the contents of civic education*, the teacher swears by his own experiences. "You teach him to kiss mummy and daddy when he returns home ; his father, as soon as he sees him a hundred metres away, shouts out to him to go and tie up the animals, and if he was to kiss his father on the cheek in such conditions, the father would find that very peculiar. You tell him not to spit, not to litter, for it dirties the environment, and yet he lives surrounded by mud, swamps and excrement – both animal and human". (Teacher aged 28).

It is in the light of these criticisms that the teachers put forward solutions to the stalemate in the school, which they believe is a determining factor of the way in which the peasants perceive and live with population problems and make their choices while tackling such problems in their daily lives.

---

(1) See Mernissi, F. "Obstacles to Family Planning Practice in Urban Morocco", *Studies in Family Planning*, Vol. 2, Nº 12, December 1975, Population Council, New York.

II – DOUAR SIDI ADDI, AZROU REGION, MID-ATLAS

1. General data

a) *History*

The Sanhaja Berbers have for centuries occupied the mountainous regions of Morocco, with seasonal transhumance routes. The earliest historical evidences show that already in the 15th century they were settled in the mid-Atlas and the Azrou region, which received, at a later date, immigratory flows from the overpopulated oases of the South.

The Azrou region experienced for a long time troubles caused for the most part by the refusal of the population to pay the taxes imposed by the Central authority. These troubles were aggravated by the intervention of western powers in the 19th century. The French colonial authorities subsequently made use of these local conflicts in their attempts to exercise power of arbitration, by supporting the Berber sense of identity against the central Moroccan authority. The setting up of the French protectorate in 1912 saw the beginning of a relatively active pacification campaign which lasted until 1931 and had serious repercussions on economic and social life.

At that time, the way of life of the agro-pastoral populations underwent a profound change : the French colonials, by settling on the most fertile lands of the plain, cut off the transhumance routes of the Berber mountainfolk.

b) *The agro-pastoral way of life and its evolution*

The limitations imposed upon the practice of stock-rearing by transhumance gradually increased the importance of agriculture, mainly the cultivation of cereals. Technology being very rudimentary, human labour remained in the forefront. In the old system, the role of the base community ("Jmaa") was essential in the management of the land belonging to a given group of the tribe. It ensured the distribution of the inherited land among the different agnatic lines of the group which received them as usufruct.

The extended family was the basic production unit. Until the 19th century, the agro-pastoral system organized economic activity mainly to satisfy the needs of the family group. The setting up of the protectorate accentuated the existing social differences and brought into question old tribal and patriarchal ties. Although the old organization of society was based on the family group and brought into play "tribal" and patriarchal solidarities, it nervertheless contained within it the seeds of very important social differences. In the first place, despite the fact that satisfying the needs of the family group was the prime objective of production, the agro-pastoral populations never lived in conditions of total autarky.

In the late 19th century, a large number of stock-breeders were living in extreme poverty, and were taken on as khams or shepherds, by stock-rearers who owned livestock running into thousands of heads. The market economy created the necessary conditions for the expropriation of a considerable number of peasants to the benefit of the big landowners.

At the same time, a *process of proletarianization of the agro-pastoral populations* began. In the space of a few decades, the region underwent very important and irreversible socio-economic changes. The introduction of a market economy, the shrinking of available land and the growth of the population tended to accentuate the fragmentation of land ownership and reduce the size of family land holdings, but above all this aggravated the imbalance created by colonization between pastoral and agricultural activities. The crisis in stock-rearing sounded the death knoll for the transhumance way of life. The development of rural townships, which became assembly points for the proletarianized sections of the population (Sidi Addi, Ait Yahia or Alla, Bensmim), is related to this crisis in the pre-capitalist modes of production. In Azrou, 20 per cent of the inhabitants of the centre came from the region. The inequalities between the mountain and the plain became worse to the detriment of the mountain zones, which gradually became depopulated.

Capitalist structures have expanded since independence. This expansion has been particularly noticeable in recent years. As a result, small land ownership has diminished in the Azrou region. In 1962, plots of under 5 hectares represented 70 per cent of the total number of holdings in the region of Sidi Addi (Ait Ouahi) ; in 1976, this figure had dropped to 68 per cent. Furthermore, big and medium land ownership has strengthened : holdings of 20 hectares and more only represented 3.8 per cent in 1962 and in 1976 went to make up 5 per cent of the total number of plots (1).

Since then, agriculture has expanded to the detriment of stock-rearing which stagnated. In the commune of Ain Leuh, the livestock figures rose by 14.1 per cent between 1930 and 1976. In the commune of Irklaouen, growth was only slightly higher : 15 per cent. In the meantime, the population of both communes increased by 63 per cent over the same period.

c) *Decisive elements in the choice of the Azrou community*

These are as follows :

- *Specific nature of population behaviour* – the agro-pastoral populations of the central Atlas have particular demographic behaviour patterns : the region of Azrou is classified as one of the regions of "moderate natality", this is the case of the populations of the mid-Atlas and the High Muluya. Families are smaller – on average 4.3 persons per family – than in the rest of Morocco. The instability of the family unit is greater (88 per cent of women between the age of 20 and 29 are married, while the others are often separated) (2).
- *Different linguistic and cultural characteristics* – the case study has brought to light linguistic and socio–

---

(1) Source : Agriculture taxes, quoted by El Belghiti, A., *Urbanisation et Domination du Monde Rural : le Cas d'Azrou*, Doctorate thesis in Geography, University of Toulouse-le-Mirail, 1978.

(2) Noin, D., *La Populaton Rurale du Maroc*, Vol. 1 and 2, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1970.

historical differences of major importance for population education.

- *Situation of women.* The women in the agro-pastoral families *were subjected to a particular form of oppression.* The socio-economic transformations have not been accepted in the same way by the women in the various societal groups.
- *Area of inward migration* : the community is situated in a region of low population density, which traditionally took in immigrants.
- *Crisis in the agro-pastoral economy : the development of capitalism as yet in an early stage.*

Long drawn-out inquiries in the field were needed to obtain approximate figures for the *Sidi Addi* township (commune of Ain Leuh), in which the major part of the inquiry was conducted. Moreover, the survey was extended to cover the outlying hamlets around Sidi Addi and the wage-earning workers and farmers living in scattered settlements.

Sidi Addi is situated in the plain of Trigrira, twelve kilometres from Azrou on the Khenifra road, and has a population of some 2,000 inhabitants (500 homes) of the Aït Ouahi tribe. The population consists of agricultural workers, poor and ordinary peasants, shepherds, blacksmiths, carpenters, shopkeepers and vegetable mongers.

The interesting fact about this township is that according to the survey estimates, *less than 20 per cent of the population over 21 years is employed* ; the remainder consists of unemployed people, in that they work for no more than a few months in the year. The work of women and children is also under-estimated.

It should be noted that prostitution is very widespread in Sidi Addi. It underwent considerable expansion in the last decade. Most prostitutes are from a very poor background : 60 out of a total of 75. Each day, proletarianization and family oppression throw more victims into the ranks of the prostitutes.

On the basis of these general facts, it will be possible to situate better the results of the inquiry which reflect the different viewpoints of the members of society involved in the great movement of evolution that has been observed. Unlike the work carried out in El Gharb, the study of the survey results was not carried out by category of informants and did not classify the speech of the peasants, on the one side, and that of the local officials, on the other. The analysis was conducted on the basis of major themes :

- changes in the family due to sedentarization,
- the evolution of socialization processes : the aggravation of cultural segregation and emigration,
- new needs in health and the inadaptability of medical structures.

These themes have particularly important repercussions on attitudes concerning population problems. Therefore, the data thus gathered should be given a priority consideration when defining a strategy and programmes for population education.

2. The results of the inquiry – sedentarization within the agro-pastoral family

The results bring out the following four points :

Point 1 : the duality of the woman's situation

Although work by women is at the base of the pastoral economy, woman remains a minor and only gains access to a position enabling her to have an important status within the extended family at menopause. However, in well-to-do families, this does not always lead to a better status since the arrival of a new wife is a permanent danger. She runs the risk not only of seeing herself replaced by this new wife but also of actually being forgotten. Custom allows the husband to "abandon" ("hjar") his wife. She then goes back to her parents' homeor else remains at her husband's home. From that time on, as the expression of a peasant woman puts it, she is nothing but "an old forgotten tomb". The husband pretends not to notice the presence of the abandoned wife ; he is not bound to buy her any clothes and does not speak to her.

Bigamy which was fairly commonly practised was the corollary of the division of work between the sexes. Although no demographic study indicates any precise, regional breakdown of the average length of life for the two sexes, it is clear that a man "wore out" more than a wife. It was this division of work and what it required of woman which led certain wives to demand that her husband take a second wife so as to lighten the burden of domestic chores. However, although the wife plays a predominant role in the running of the home, the agnatic, patriarchal family, for which she literally sacrifies herself, forbids her any access to ownership of the means of production. Not only is she left out of the control of collective activities, but she is also not allowed to participate in the handing down of inherited land belonging to the family. Furthermore, although domestic craftwork is entirely her own responsibility, she is not entitled to use the fruit of her work within the family. She can keep to herself a few savings only if she manages to "embezzle" some money from her own home. Thus, even if women played a fundamental role in productive activities, their status was equivalent to that of the workers hired to do certain specific tasks : shepherds, khams, etc.

The pastoral family is based on the maintenance of indivisible ownership of the means of production. This was done mainly at the expense of women. Their exclusion from the use of the fruits of their work, the degree of supervision and the various hierarchies to which they were subjected were to place them at the forefront of the process of change in the great agro-pastoral family.

Since recently, in principle, women have gained the right to land ownership. However, this right is far from being a reality. Those who wish to keep their family inheritance undivided can still get round this right. It is still a frequent occurrence to see a patriarch arriving at the Court in

Azrou to register his decision to disinherit his daughter in favour of his sons or grandsons. Given that the legislation of the "Chraa" does not allow the donor to dispose of more than one third of the inheritance, the patriarch takes recourse to the all-powerful weapon of fictitious sale in order to defend the patriarchal structures.

Besides, right to inheritance brings out contradictions within the extended family, which manifest particularly in the conflicts between generations. More and more often young women refuse to work entirely to the benefit of the extended family. They also reject all forms of supervision and control exercised over them by the male members of the extended family.

Point 2 : New attitudes and old demands

With the emergence of the individual legal status of the woman, conflicts and tensions are splitting families down the middle. The legitimacy of all these various forms of supervision and control is highly challenged by young daughters-in-law. However, it is the fact of working for the benefit of the extended family that they contest most. More and more, women want to invest in the education of their children. "I want to work for my children", "If I struggle, I want my children to benefit from it. I do not want to be constantly insulted by the father-in-law – what do I stand to gain from that ?"

Women also played a role of equal immportance in the process of sedentarization – because the agro-pastoral system obliged them to do arduous chores and face the rigorous climate under the canvas of tents – as they had in the breaking up of the indivisible inheritance.

The daily life of the peasant women has changed with the process of sedentarization. Some of the tasks related to the processing of agricultural products such as grinding the grain, have ceased to be their responsibility for almost a decade now. There is no reduction in their work as regards minding the livestock, housekeeping and taking care of the children. In rich families, the education of children is seen by women as a means of escape from the chores of rural life. The woman in this milieu seeks the same comfort as that of the middle-class woman in town and places more importance on the education of her children than on her role as housewife. In the agricultural worker and average peasant milieux, young women no longer accept the chores of the past. They do not restrict their demand to a higher status and access to material comfort only; when they are not themselves working women, they refuse to live the life of a housewife.

The historical, economic, social and cultural conditions which shaped the structures of agro-pastoral families also greatly influenced women's demands with regard to fertility. Here more than anywhere else, *it would seem that birth control has been one of the only means available to women to defend themselves against the appalling status that was theirs within the agro-pastoral family*. This is perhaps one of the reasons for the very rapid spread of contraceptive methods, even if they are not always properly used.

Point 3 : Formation of a working-class, dowry, early marriage, remarriage of the aged and family instability

According to the inquiry conducted in the field, men in small, proletarianized landowner families marry at an earlier age than those from the wage-earning families. The wage-earning class seems to put off the age of marriage in order to obtain permanent employment. This is so because a worker is obliged to stay back and not emigrate during the harvesting season, for the landowner refuses to recruit a worker who migrates at this period of the year.

For the families of small stock-breeders or peasants, the small savings resulting from harvesting work constitute a supplement to the family budget and also serve to pay for the cost of weddings. A permanent employee finds it difficult to save enough to pay for a wedding.

Dowry is in the process of changing meaning. In the precolonial and colonial period, the dowry was paid to the family which was giving away its daughter, and it repesented for that family the compensation for the loss of a woman ; more and more frequently, traditions still practised by middle-class families in the cities are spreading into the countryside. These families made it a matter of honour for them to provide their daughter with a dowry of at least double the value of the husband's by preparing a trousseau. The poor peasant woman's trousseau nervertheless remained relatively modest in proportion. But the fact that the father had to give his daughter a dowry was a new element which changed the relations between them. Moreover, the sacrifices that a father is willing to make for his daughter is in close relation with the type of alliance he hopes to form through his daughter's marriage. The marriage which is most highly valued by the daughter is the one which takes place with a town-dweller.

The struggle to conserve the inherited land is fouling these relationships more and more, and many fathers are trying to disinherit their daughters by indirect procedures : the constitution of a legacy to his sons and grandsons, fictitious sales, etc. Bitterness, resentment, tensions and conflicts, a degradation in the image of the elders and of that of the young, such is the substance of most of the interviews; family life is being worn away by daily tensions. It is primarily through the family that many rural youths sense the contradictions in society.

Even though "democratic" relationships, however vague and ill defined, are emerging within the family, they are only as yet in embryonic stage and still tainted with the feudal and patriarchal imprint.

Early marriage is seen by peasant families as a way out for young girls who have been unable to accede to education or to receive any kind of professional training. The marriage of young girls with old men is also perceived in the same way. Indeed, frequent *remarriage* among old men is one of the scourges of the pastoral polygamic family. One well-known local personality remarried at the age of 80 with a 16-year-old girl. This case is far from exceptional. Often the elder sons of the patriarch are busy arranging the separation of one of his wives or in bringing another into the home. The sons of the first generation in these extended families manage the lands and manipulate their fathers as they like. It would seem that separations are not always due to the wishes of the husband alone, but rather to those of his entourage. According to certain court officials, there are almost as many registrations of separations as there are of marriages. This is very probably exaggerated, but given the fact that a sizeable number of separations are not registered, it is possible to see how unstable the structure of marriage has become. Moreover, young women between the age of 15 and 25, as long as they have not had any children, appear to be little affected by separations – on the contrary, some attempt to use them as a way to improve their situation each time by endeavouring to marry into a wealthier family.

Point 4 : Prostitution : a feature of rural structures

The proletarianization of large sectors of the population diminishes the chances of stability of marriage. No hope is placed in the institution of marriage any longer since the family can no longer guarantee the woman her traditional role. Henceforward, if she is to face the instability of the home, marriage is no longer for her anything other than the approval of the symbol of social integration at a time when such integration is becoming difficult, if not impossible, for some of them. The solution of prostitution is thus opened up. More and more, it is not only patriarchal oppression which drives the woman into prostitution ; wage-employment not only turns her workforce into a maketable commodity, but also obliges her to sell her body for a wage equivalent to the minimum salary. This is one of the aspects of the destruction of the bases of the old family unit, observed already at the beginning of the century.

3. Socialization, aggravation of cultural segregation and emigration

The evolution in the socialization process occurring through the diverse institutions and particularly the school is very accurately reflected in the development of the social contradictions of which emigration is an outcome. Here too, the inquiry has retained the most significant points.

Point 1 : Rejection of the colonial school as an instrument of depersonalization

The elite which managed and organized social life had no real need to be literate as their relations with the central authority were rather distant. The boys were trained from their earliest childhood to mind the herds ; later they carried out tilling and harvesting work and were obliged to train for warfare. The girls watched over the herd closest to the tent and practised housekeeping chores and weaving, etc.

In the past, the child of a shepherd did not have the same living conditions as the child of a notable. However, although the latter was better fed and clothed, his cultural environment, despite being marked by the social hierarchies, was the same as for the former. By alienating a section of the notables, colonial domination was to put an end to this situation and set off a process which was to aggravate cultural segregation between those who went to shool and those who were illiterate.

As the colonial school was seen as a means of depersonalization, the mid-Atlas populations often rejected it. According to the memories of the old people, certain families used quite complicated explanations to do so, like a local notable who persuaded the authorities that his two sons were deaf and dumb to avoid having them attend school.

Education under the protectorate was highly compartmentalized : the "Berber college" was, for example, mainly designed for the sons of notables ; it was also sexually biased : there was no question of educating the daughters of the notables. During this period, education hardly sought to modify the status of women, nor to emancipate Moroccans as was stipulated in a Ministerial circular of the protectorate issued in the 1930s.

It was under the influence of the nationalist movement that a mixed school was set up in Azrou in the nineteen-fifties. A "Muslim girl school" which had been closed down temporarily by the colonial authorities, admitted girls from this rural commune. Depending on their particular social origin, they were oriented towards various branches of manual work : weaving, embroidery. The present-day school has to a certain extent remained the off-shoot of these initial models.

Point 2 : The teachers' point-of-view : parental authority, teachers' authority

These two points will be illustrated by certain highly significant excerpts of interviews.

"The schoolteacher ought not stay too long in the same village : when he gets to know the students, he can no longer teach them anything. They look upon him as somebody from the village. When a new teacher arrives, if he is strict, then the students work because they fear him". "When a college student meets a teacher in the café, when they play cards and smoke together, the teacher can no longer have any sway over him. The teacher should avoid mentioning certain subjects to the student because he will not respect him any longer. There would be no more moral authority". – "When the teacher arrives in this village, everyone helps him. However, it is those who have the means with which to send their children into town who get results".

Teaching conditions are the subject of a variety of justified criticisms.

"Methods are not adapted : it is difficult for the students to understand what they are being taught properly. The school universe is too far removed from the milieu in which the children grow up. Most of the children in these schools have never been in a town and yet the textbooks talk only of town. We are in one world and the students are in another. There is no way for us to give them lessons which come closer to the reality to their lives or put them in touch with the world about which the school speaks".

"Our teaching methods are outdated. We do not know what we are doing. The children are on one bank of the river and we are on the other. The children have never even had the chance of climbing into a car and then we go and talk to them constantly in the lessons of aeroplanes, trains and airports. They are total strangers to the school's preoccup[illegible]. You should see how the religion classes are sophis[illegible]d and abstract for a child's mind. And then th[illegible]urprised that the children like the school less a[illegible]ss. Nothing attracts them ; nothing is adapted to their age. They are compelled to make a huge break with reality, but no base is given to help them. The children are very intelligent but what they are taught is very far removed from them. The poor children start thinking to themselves that they will never make it, so it is not worth wasting time. But the children of rich parents do make it because they are encouraged by their environment".

"The children of the poor peasants do not study. They live in difficult conditions. At the beginning of the year there are 50 of them ; by the middle of the year are 30 or even less. When the child's father is poor, he sends the child to school for two or three years and then he takes him back to help him or to act as shepherd, whereas the rich parents supervise their children. Those are the children who work at home. That is why school in the countryside is an illusion. In the satellite schools it is even worse. Sometimes the children travel three or four kilometres on foot to get to school, in winter in the rain, they are badly dressed and under-nourished. They often have to take with them a snack lunch, because the bread at the school canteen is so bad that they sometimes cannot bring themselves to eat it".

The children of the lower middle class in the countryside are no more successful in facing up to the perils of town life, particularly their insecure and difficult lodging conditions which jeopardize their chances of success at school.

Point 3 : Aggravaton of cultural segregation to the detriment of children of poor families – the sex factor

This incapacity of the proletarianized sections of peasantry to gain access to school often causes needy parents to react violently towards their children, who run away from home or who have very bad school reports.

One teacher tells the following story :

"A lady we know came to see me with her twelve-year old child and told him to tell me what his exam results were. He told me he was 43rd. Then she asked me : "Is that a good result ?" I said to her "No, it is very bad". So she threw herself at the boy and started beating him".

Although women have not been totally freed of their past chores, these are nevertheless becoming less demanding and time-consuming with the arrival of certain home appliances which help in the domestic chores. Mothers therefore tend to turn their energies to the benefit of their children whom they are keen to instruct. Victims themselves of the patriarchal family structure, they attempt to escape their condition by working for the education of their children.

Prostitution acts as a brake on aspirations to change, particularly as concerns the education of girls. However, the first and foremost impediment is the cost of schooling which is far too high for the poor peasant or the intermittent worker. Young girls between the ages of 8 and 12 are a very cheap source of labour for market gardens and nurseries. They work quickly and adapt rapidly to new jobs. They can be seen, as from the month of May, crammed into a lorry going off to, or coming back from a farm along the new tracks of the plains.

It is generally the daughters of well-to-do families who are given the opportunity of attending school.

4. New needs in health and sex education

A superficial analysis might give the impression of a certain fatalism as regards health problems and a highly sceptical outlook in relation to modern medicine. However, going beyond these initial impressions, one realizes that anxieties about health are ever present. The views expressed during the course of the inquiry by both the users of medicine and the medical workers are as follows :

Point 1 : Changing attitudes towards traditional practices and infatuation with modern medicine. Mothers' health, family planning and sex education

The attitude towards modern medicine has changed radically over the past twenty-five years. Dispensaries, hospitals and vaccinations are now an integral part of families' aspirations to a better quality of life. Indeed health needs are now keenly felt, particularly by women. For the young peasant women, who see child-bearing as a burden which is all the more difficult to support in their harsh living conditions, modern medicine opens up some glimmer of hope in the area of *contraception.*

The wives of agricultural workers aged 35 and over would have generally had five or six children, before having recourse to modern methods of contraception. On the other hand, women below 30, after having one or two children, turn to oral contraceptives without going through the entire battery of traditional contraceptive methods.

However, due to insufficient popularization of the health services and given the slowness with which the dispensary operates, the long distances to cover and the lack of time and money, the health services are far from being in a position to meet family planning demands ; quite frequently women go back to the traditional methods for want of something better.

In respect of *venereal diseases*, there is no way of finding out the scale and extent of its hold. The effect it has on demography, however, has already been noted by a number of researchers (1). The effects of the spread of venereal diseases, which are on the increase, are difficult to gauge with accuracy. It is to be noted that the traditional treatments and ignorance often lead women to become *sterile.*

(1) Noin, D., *La Population Rurale du Maroc, op.cit.*

As concerns attempts at abortion, it is a widespread practice even amongst married women. The methods employed include eating aromatic plants and inserting into the genital apparatus a great variety of products which have catastrophic effects on the woman's health.

Better sex information for young women, by way of adult education centres, literacy training courses, dispensaries or various other communal centres, and for the school children within the framework of health and hygiene classes or sex education integrated into biology or other science classes, could help in the search for a solution to these various problems. Subjects such as hygiene, venereal diseases and their effects on the life of the couple, on fertility and on heredity ; prostitution and its family, social and cultural dimensions ; sterility, etc. could be introduced into these courses and activities, taking into account the cultural values and norms of the populations for which they are intended, so that families, parents and educators may take part without cultural confrontation or trauma.

Point 2 : Medical service structures and their shortcomings

Medical service personnel's opinions on the organization of the service converge towards one viewpoint : they deplore the lack of material resources, laboratories, equipment, etc. (vehicles, petrol), which jeopardize all their initiatives to popularize medicine and prevent them from reaching the most needy in the communities. The latter, in turn, encounter various difficulties which prevent them from travelling to dispensaries or medical centres (bad season, impracticable, roads or, on the contrary, fine season, intense work in the fields). Therefore, when health education activities are organized for mothers, due consideration will have to be given to these difficult conditions, and efforts should be made to find local solutions to overcome them.

III – THE OCEAN DISTRICT IN THE URBAN AREA OF RABAT-SALE

1. General data – presentation of the Ocean community

The Ocean district is one of the largest in the Rabat-Salé urban area in terms of both its population and the highly dynamic role it plays in the economy. However, the economy's growth and the structure of its activities, as well as the daily problems faced by its inhabitants, are closely bound up with those of the urban area of Rabat-Salé as a whole.

a) *Demographic and socio-economic data of the Rabat-Salé urban area*

The population

The urban area of Rabat-Salé has a total of 539,000 inhabitants according to the 1971 census. Since the beginning of the protectorate, the rate of growth of the population has been high, thus :

- between 1921 and 1952 : 8.6% average per annum
- between 1952 and 1960 : 6.1% average per annum
- between 1960 and 1971 : 5.25% average per annum.

The increase in the Muslim Moroccan population has been greater : rising at 6.2 per cent per annum on average from 260,000 in 1960 to 500,000 in 1971 as a result of the departure of a number of Europeans. This rate would be much higher still were it not for the fact that the neighbouring area of Temara has absorbed part of this emigration. However, the rate of natural growth is relatively low : 2.6. per cent. On the other hand, the rate of immigration represents 4 per cent per annum. The rapid urbanization of the towns of the Rabat-Salé conglomeration is not the result of steady industrialization but rather of the severity of the crisis in the rural areas, where concentration of land ownership and modernization, which is often carried out on the basis of international market imperatives, are driving large sections of the rural population off their land.

The employment situation

Between 1960 and 1971, nationalization of civil service created a great number of jobs. In 1971, the public sector accounted for 40 per cent of the jobs, i.e. 44,000 out of a total of 110,000 employed. The active population doubled between 1960 and 1971. The public sector only employs about 14 per cent of the total active population, whereas in 1960 it represented 18 per cent.

According to the inquiry's estimations of the total active population of the Rabat-Salé community, 16 per cent are unemployed and 12 per cent partially employed. In fact, the unemployment rate is higher, as job demand is not static and does not follow any rigid pattern. In terms of economic activity, the Ocean district accounts for 56 per cent of the total industrial activity of the whole Rabat-Salé area. In actual fact, most firms are small, employing just a few workers. They are mainly machine repair factories, sewing and tailoring workshops, carpenters and plumbers. True industrial concerns are few in number and are limited to processing activities : textile weaving, canning plants, cardboard factories, where most of the work force is made up of underpaid women. Furthermore, 17 per cent of the business trade is situated in Ocean : here too, retailing is predominant, and the profusion of small retailers does not necessarily imply economic development. Alongside the above, illicit wandering street markets are improvised every day. Commercial activities are often nothing more than activities by which to survive (it has already been seen above that in this area unemployment is high).

The number of inhabitants of the *Ocean district* would seem to have totalled about 60,000 in 1976. Growth in the district averaged out at 8 per cent per annum over the last decade. Population density in the district has increased at a very rapid rate and continued to do so. Women account for 53 per cent of the population and men for 47 per cent. A higher proportion of women in the population is the feature of the populations of the working-class urban areas, although in Ocean the proportion is slightly higher than in other districts. (1).

The proportion of young people is very high : the under-21's make up more than 50 per cent whilst the proportion of elderly people is low. The family structure is moving more and more towards the conjugal type, implying the wife's rejection of any co-habitation with parents-in-law.

The majority of adults are illiterate : 78 per cent of heads of family cannot read and 80 per cent do not know how to write. The proportion is even higher with women. This inequality is reflected in the rate of enrolment at primary school : 70 per cent for boys and only 56 per cent for girls.

b) *Choice of community and direction of the inquiry*

The aim here was to analyze the realities of an urban community shaped by various types of change. The Ocean population in this respect showed great awareness of belonging to a town even though it was ostracized by the town's middle classes. The break with the countryside has almost been completed. Returning to the countryside is in nobody's mind, even in the most desperate of situations.

What is more, the proximity of middle classes with which the informants are in regular daily contact changes their needs, aspirations, expectations and attitudes in the demographic field. The interest shown by the families in this community towards the study and exploration of population behaviours was high ; placed as they are in a favourable milieu, subject to the constant observation and appraisal by the well-to-do classes, these families tend to be more receptive to innovation and change. Their concerns and views about change may help to clarify the attitudes and needs of families in similar conditions in other areas of the world.

2. The district inhabitants analysis of their own situation

The following five "sore points" were highlighted :

Point 1 : The housing situation and under-equipment : obstacles to change

The housing situation began reaching critical proportions during the nineteen sixties and worsened still further from 1970 onwards. One household in four has moved at least three times. These moves come about concomitantly with the *search for employment*. The concern for accommodation is a very significant aspect of the families' aspirations to well-being : lack of space and insalubrity go hand in hand with high rents.

Point 2 : Unwanted pregnancies and the awareness of number

The population of mothers interviewed during the month of March 1979 is characterized in most cases by intense fatigue and overwork. The burden of family responsibilities is a major cause : women are responsible for children during the whole time they are out of school. When they let the children out into the street to play, to have a moment's respite, they are then worried about the dangers they might run into. It was under these conditions that the first interviews with these women were carried out. They were submerged in the worries of the daily life and the burden of children.

One of the major consequences of this situation is their desire to have no more children. Not only do 78 per cent of women with five or more children want no more, 37 per cent of women with fewer than five do not want any more either. They were all married at the age of 18. Some have difficulty remembering at what age they got married. Their arrival in town aggravated their sense of isolation and marginalization. Thus, the arrival of the fisrt child was purely and simply accepted. Only after the second or third child did most of them start seeking ways of controlling the number of pregnancies.

The women's remarks about closely-spaced and numerous pregnancies bring out time and again images which are poignant (2) : they give expression to their sudden realization of their *ignorance* and of the inferiority of the woman in general. For the informants, closely-spaced pregnancies are the corollary of woman's inferior status ; this is also the lot, moreover, of sterile women who are also in a state of total insecurity : having been married and separated several times they end up living in a perpetual state of resentment and fright of old-age. And yet, in their responses procreation no longer emerges as the single and only raison d'être for a woman. On the contrary, they all see the large number of children they have as a handicap and attribute their behaviour to incomprehension of the environment, lack of contact with the outside world, ignorance and illiteracy.

Point 3 : Communicating with the outside : confinement and illiteracy as blocking factors for women keeping them in their traditional roles

Difficulties of access to information are, in the experience of the informants, an obstacle to change. Men understand how essential *access to information* is in the dynamics of change and strongly feel a sense of frustration about the situation where they only have access to snippets – it is, moreover, for the same reason that they adopt an hostile adverse attitude when the same demand is clearly expressed by their wife. However, as the years of town life go by, and as women's demands become more and more clearly defined, men's control over women's access to information becomes more and more difficult.

Most of the informants had spent their childhood in the countryside and their first experience of town was marked by a feeling of being closed-in which sometimes reached appalling proportions. Most of the households interviewed were nuclear family units. For the families studied, this situation was the outcome, or at least the beginning of the process of disintegration of the extended patriarchal family. Nevertheless, although placed in an urban context, the young wife and mother continues to be subjected to family pressures (the mother-in-law) who intensifies her efforts to control her daughter-in-law's occupations and exert her repressive power. Confinement and corporal punishment are commonplace to the newcomer. Distractions, amusements and leisure activities are an exception for her. Held back by lack of resources and transport, one in ten only go out on essential errands, which are nevertheless considered as leisure activities (the public baths and the dispensary). In fact, the issue of isolation particularly reveals one aspect of the aspired-for relationship between the sexes. The message of feminism is, moreover, obvious at this level : an unnoticeable slide takes place during the interviews from the question of isolation to that of male authority and superiority. In this, there are a certain number of contradictions, however. On the one hand, the informants put forward radical demands for equality of the sexes, but on the other, whenever they were required to express their opinion on the situation of the two sexes, the dominant ideology came through once again. Education has played and will continue to play a vital role in changing attitudes in this respect.

---

(1) See "Quelques quartiers sous-équipés de Rabat-Sale, Témara et Kénitra", *Caractéristiques démographiques et socio-économiques*, N° 20, Institut National des Statistiques et d'Economie Appliquée.

(2) Mathieu, J. and Maneville, R. *Les accoucheuses musulmanes traditionnelles de Casablanca*, Paris, 1952.

Point 4 : Socialization and disintegration of family structures

Despite the tensions, the households are on the whole united. Yet they live in a social environment in which the bases of the family are also being seriously brought into doubts: a real disintegration of the family is being witnessed, with its corollaries : alcoholism, prostitution, betting, etc. The emergence of new relations between the sexes is being experienced against a background of human dramas which are destroying the individual – housing problems, precarious health, difficulties in finding a job and receiving an education are but a few examples. In this setting of harsh transition, most of the women interviewed seemed to express a desire to break with a certain type of traditional feminine culture. However, although at the level of signs and symbols sexual segregation seems to be starting to lose ground, it is far from having lost its foundations, the most important of which is training in housework. Education in housework is given priority in real life, even if it has lost its significance elsewhere : in the daughter, the mother sees above all else a help who can relieve her immediately of the most arduous chores, particularly as most households nowadays are nuclear and possess only rudimentary home appliances. The education the mother gives to her daughter is nothing if not contradictory, for at the same time as she hopes that her daughter be different from herself, she obliges her to do the domestic chores that are the same as her own.

In this environment, the school constitutes a breach in the *traditional system*. The new factor is that the young girls have access to the *Koranic school* and then to *primary school*. Thus they have access to the outside world. According to the views expressed and the examples given by the informants, the ideal of preparing the daughter for a housekeeping role is dying out. The function of housewife is hardly valued, and women whose role is held in esteem are those who are educated and work outside the home.

The interesting point is that the model of the rich and indolent lady of leisure is not, for the group of informants, as esteemed a point of reference as that of the educated, working woman. Does this mean that a total break is taking place in respect of the status of reference for the woman ? One might be tempted to think so, but a certain number of clarifications should be added to the above. Domestic work remains a major handicap for the young girl. Although most poor households in the town desire *a different type of education* for the daughter, which is not the same as the one given in the family environment, they do not manage to pull her out of the degradation of the domestic setting (1); on the contrary, as soon as she begins to grow up, they strengthen the watch over her and increase the number of obstacles barring access to the outside world as the only way to safeguard her virginity. The girl is subjected to kinds of segregation which increase her feeling of inferiority and only in exceptional cases give her the possibility to succeed. Although her emotions and imagination are filled with ideal inspired by commercial literature and films, and even if she aspires for a life different from the one her mother has had, she is weighed down by female oppression and only rarely manages to escape the noose which tightens its grip round her as she grows up.

Point 5 : Illiteracy and the school – the power of knowledge

The subject of the *school* was approached with passion by the *parents* who were interviewed. The school is generally seen as a very important means of social advancement which is, however, only fully used by the rich. The image of the teacher appears to have deteriorated considerably in the eyes of the parents. In their views, one idea dominates, that of a careless teacher without professional conscientiousness and who goes absent for no good reason. He is also the one who – often wrongly – demands school and out-of-school supplies for the children. Some teachers even go so far as to demand that children take extra lessons as security for passing examinations, and most parents often consider these extra lessons as worthless.

As for the *teachers*, they see the problem in the deficiencies of the school system. Their main worries are to do with teaching methods and the organization as a whole. They stress the poverty of teaching methods, the routine, the nature of work and the number of hours of work demanded of teachers, which provide no scope for creativity or enrichment. The excessively academic character of the teaching methods make the teachers "make do" as best they can to control an invariably overcroweded classroom. The problem of maintaining order in the classroom very often leads to the use of violence. According to the teachers, the social origin of the students determines their attitude and behaviour in the classroom. In their view, students from well-to-do backgrounds and small families are far more conscientious than students from poorer backgrounds. Moreover, the former hand in neater work have better results and are also more receptive.

---

(1) El Belghiti, M. "Les mères de famille parlent de l'éducation", in *Al Bayane*, 9 March 1978.

A number of criticisms are made about the *content of school courses* ; hitherto, textbooks, school manuals and subject contents have never dealt with population issues : size of the family, notion of sex relations, etc. The criticisms particularly emphasized the theoretical nature and outdatedness of certain issues in religious education or civics.

Nevertheless, generally speaking, teachers' messages underline the concern about the conditions in which knowledge is transmitted rather than the content of knowledge and the role it plays in the reproduction and strengthening of social inequalities.

The interviews with a certain number of teachers, revealed a global understanding of socio-economic problems and a less narrow outlook of education. In their view, the school should be open to all aspects of life and could become a forum for the diffusion of ideas and new inventions and especially to help promote a dynamic socialization which aims at the full development of creativity in the child and not on the transmission of fixed knowledge with no practical value.The old system of education is criticized through the demands for modern instruction. The adolescents are the most critical about the old educational methods (unequal relations within the family, inferior status of the child, authoritarian methods, physical violence, incomprehension between adults and the young and between the sexes, discriminatory education).

As for *illiteracy*, it is seen as a personal defect. Illiterate parents thus become obstacles to the social advancement of their children and their access to modern knowledge despite the sacrifices they make to give them an education. The town-dwelling family belonging to the semi-proletarianized classes is becoming more and more incapable of assuming the socializing role entrusted to it for obvious economic and social reasons. Adolescents are thus left at the mercy of influences in the street : running away from home, taking to drugs, etc. In such cases, vain attempts are made to call in the help of the community institutions but these institutions only intervene in a repressive sense.

In the opinion of the interviewed women, knowledge is an all-powerful weapon. However, as the doors to modern knowledge are closed to them, they fall back on the snippets of traditional knowledge ; hence the return to popularity, which seems to be taking place, of supersitious practices and witchcraft, a phenomenon which might also be explained by the disintegration of the family structure. These women, who demand with such unprecedented vigour the right to education in order to gain access to the modern world and to escape from the domestic universe which they see as being at the origin of all their individual misfortunes, rarely escape from the practices of witchcraft and quackery. It is true that in the patriarchal family in Morocco, the woman, relegated to her domestic world, has always attempted to work *through* her husband. So as to secure for herself, if not love, then at least a certain amount of fidelity, she had turned to magic. The nationalist movement threw all superstitious practices into discredit and militated in favour of education for women. At the time of independence, such practices, synonymous with backwardness, were vilified. Twenty-three years later it is strange to note that these practices are much more widespread. In the discussions on magic, few amongst the women interviewed expressed opinions which gave us reason to believe that they were dubious of its effectiveness. Yet, their demands for education were put forward with force.

47

CHAPTER IV

COMPARATIVE INTERPRETATION OF THE ANALYZED SITUATIONS AS A BASIS FOR ESTABLISHING AN OPINION ON POPULATION EDUCATION

The results of the inquiry outlined in the preceding chapter should be interpreted with due consideration for the constraints imposed upon the operation, particularly those of making a qualitative study in limited time and space. Moreover, they were dependent on threee major factors :

a) The limited geographical representativity, involving three limited base community samples, without any scientific tests to extrapolate so as to measure in a less intuitive way the potential scope of the results obtained. However, it can be said that the results appear to touch upon certain problems of great importance and clarify their nature ;

b) the social representativity was also limited, and this fact should not be disregarded. The three sample groups are amongst the poorest and the least privileged ; the middle classes and better-off sections of the population were hardly touched upon by the inquiry. Nevertheless, this choice can be justitied on the ground that the inquiry was aimed at establishing a study base which would facilitate educational action in those areas where the problems are the most acute ;

c) those responsible for the inquiry constantly stressed the fragmentary nature of their survey, carried out within a very limited period of time by comparison with the extent of the problems that are posed. This study must be treated as a pioneering work, calling for follow-up. Thus, for example, the problem of the spread of prostitution and generation conflicts related to population questions were hardly taken up in the urban district of Ocean.

With this background in mind, the main conclusions as formulated by the researchers are presented below and they are organized around *four key ideas.*

Idea I : *The peasant and the poor town-dweller of rural origin both reject their traditional lot and want radical changes in their relations with their environments*

The inquiry has made one thing very clear. The results of the inquiry show beyond any doubt that the image of the peasant as a person who is closed to change and cut off from and terrified by the ceaseless advance towards progress is a myth ; this idea prevails only in the minds of those who are ignorant of the peasant world or refuse, out of class or professional bias, to accept that such open-mindedness could possibly exist among peasants. This is particularly the case of the technocrats from the town who try to put the blame on psychological factors such as the mental backwardness of the peasant or his rejection of change for the failure of their development schemes and projects. The interviews recorded prove that the peasant is not only open to change, but also demands it and he finds tradition today impracticable.

Nevertheless, an important distinction should be noted as concerns the evolution of the peasant's attitude towards tradition, which underwent radical change with the advent of independence. During the colonial period, clinging on to his traditions was the only means available to the peasant to defend himself against the colonial aggressiveness with was reflected amongst other things, in the setting up of a technological infrastructure and in the utilization of scientific knowledge which was monopolized by the colonials and from which the peasant was excluded. Independence broke with this situation. Technology and scientific knowledge is no longer seen as the signs of prestige to be envied and contested. Little could be understood of the hopes and expectations which motivate the peasants in respect of education as a means of access to the modern world if this break with the past, this momentum built up through the struggle for independence were to be neglected.

The peasant now associates tradition with poverty, illness and illiteracy. Modernization is equated with change, social advancement, penicillin, schooling and a regular and stable salary. The peasant seeks to lead a life consistent with the images of modernization presented to him in that they appear to come as a response to an acutely felt need to improve the quality of his life.

The fragmentation of land and the increasing poverty of the least favoured sections of peasantry have made him realize that nothing can be gained by individual endeavour. Although the demand for land ownership remains basic to their cause, peasants no longer consider it possible to exploit their land by using purely individual means.

State intervention is seen as crucial not only in the Azrou community (slow, poor agricultural modernization), but also in the El Gharb community (very advanced agricultural modernization) and in the urban Ocean community. However, although belief in the State and in the importance of its intervention is general, the degree of possible collectivization of efforts within a community varies. All the communities are in agreement that *community* solutions must be found for the problems of rural under-equipment (drinking water, electricity, public transport), but individualist tendencies show up very clearly as concerns production in El Gharb. The Gharb inhabitant does not put forward the co-operative as a solution to the problem of production and is inclined more to propose individual solutions. Such is not the case for Azrou.

The *role of the mass media* as a means of contact with the outside world, with modernity, with technology, is very important. However, in the Berber-speaking Azrou region, an acute feeling of frustration is to be noted vis-à-vis the Arabic – or French-speaking television network which is accompanied by fascination for all forms of mass media. The informants in the Ocean community have developed a critical outlook towards television which they use more frequently than the people in the rural areas and which they see as a response to their problems.

In conclusion, it can be said that the *peasant is automatically* forward looking and sees himself as part of the movement of progress, and rarely asks himself any questions about his own authenticity, or about the problems of relations with the West, or again about relations with the past, which seem to be more the concern of intellectuals today. However, *these expectations remain in the imaginary*, and are the compensation for a feeling of exclusion. It would be difficult to foretell what new problems would arise if the peasant were actually to gain access to modernity in the way he currently desires.

Idea II : The notion of individual profitability in the family and its effects on demographic behaviours : the influence of historical, economic, social and political factors

A big pitfall into which a great number of analyses of population behaviour in the poor classes have fallen consists in accusing the poor head-for-the-family with eight children of irresponsibility and irrationality. According to this explanation, if the poor man could rationally assess his situation, he would reduce the number of children he wants so as to improve the standard of living of the whole family. However, this sort of reasoning does not hold true in that it takes no account of the economic context within which the demographic decision-making process occurs. Such a reasoning (reduction in the number of children and resource availability will rise accordingly) only holds true in a situation where the individual sees himself as living within a context of continuous social advancement. But the peasants interviewed see themselves as living in a situation of ever-worsening degradation which is continuously deteriorating. *The impossibility of gaining access to school and to its "diplomas" is experienced as the symbol of this exclusion from social advancement opportunities.* In this outlook, the children, boys or girls, are rarely perceived as agents of social advancement ; they are seen as available manpower, on the one hand, and as means to strengthen parents' claim for land, on the other. The El Gharb peasant is aware that he is playing a loser's game, but knows that he is forced into that role whatever happens. He knows that the only way to unblock the situation of continuous deterioration is to attain another way of life, a fundamentally different lifestyle with access to school, to diplomas and/or to regular salaried work with the State as the employer. He is convinced that there is no meeting point between these two ways of life. It is not possible to obtain schooling and medical care by reducing the size of the family ; in his opinion, access to such things is dependent on an authority which is outside the family will, i.e. State intervention. Thus highly varying attitudes are to be seen concerning the spacing of births and the size of the family, depending on several factors : income or class in society, access to medical services, to land, to paid work, to education, etc.

The Gharb is an extreme case where the child, given the particular situation of the political demands made by the peasant, is considered profitable even when he is uneducated, unemployed and without any opportunity for gaining access to land ownership. However, in the Gharb as in Azrou or the Ocean districts, class affiliation plays a determining role to the extent that access to a minimum of comfort is reflected in terms of restricting the number of children in the family. As for access, however limited, to medical services and education, its effect is just as decisive : access to these services soon results in a concern to reduce the number of children. Such is the case among the agricultural workers and among the urban families in the slum quarters. As regards paid work, its effect varies according to the overall environment. In the Gharb, it seems hardly to affect the number of births – agricultural workers have the same pro-natalist attitudes as the small peasant farmers. However, in the Azrou region, wage-earning does have an influence on population behaviour : families of agricultural workers make an effort to plan the future development of their families.

Nevertheless, a distinction should be made between the desire to plan and the result of efforts made. In Azrou and Ocean alike, many women wishing to plan births fail to do so because of shortcomings in the medical infrastructure. Many of them use contraceptives without having ever consulted a doctor, for it is easier and cheaper in both time and money to go to the local chemist than undertake the lengthy process of attending a dispensary. Unfulfilled in their desire to use modern methods of contraception, they fall back on little qualifed intermediaries to help (acquaintances, friends, passing strangers, or, in the case of El Gharb, husbands) and/or turn to the traditional methods which they know are not very effective.

The case of El Gharb is interesting in this respect. Men in this region are better informed than women as to the existence of the pill or the intra-uterine devices ; they are common subjects of conversation. They are the ones who "manage" to get hold of them when the couple decides to practice birth spacing. Women are passive participants to the extent that access to hospital and to the chemist's implies having the means to pay the cost of transport and to buy the products. The use of modern contraceptive devices marks a total break with the past, for Moroccan women traditionally used to spacing out childbirth with semi-magical practices (charms, rituals, herbs, etc.). The traditional methods were immediately accessible to the woman while the modern devices necessitate three elements over which women hardly exercise any control : money, freedom of movement and knowledge of the physiology of reproduction and contraception.

Birth spacing which was the exclusive responsibility of women has now gone under the control of men. Yet men and women are not driven by the same motivations. Hence the complexity of the factors that come into play in this process. The fact that women in El Gharb have the fixed idea that "development" is nothing but an oblgation to carry out, on top of doing the exhausting domestic work, regular work which is paid but badly, so it hardly encourages them to adopt attitudes which call into question the man-woman relationship in the couple, as is the case in the shanty towns or among the lower middle classes. Due to the absence of access to the benefits of modernization – the school, the hospital, technology, etc. – women retain the traditional attitude of submission, at least outwardly and let their husbands decide about family planning matters. The husband's attitude is influenced by other considerations such as the desire to raise his chances of increasing his share of land by having more male children. It is clear, therefore, that if the hospital were more accessible for women and helped to free them from the need to go through their husbands, an entirely different population behaviour would emerge.

It would be interesting to examine in greater detail the attitude of women in El Gharb towards individual profitability. Do women see a male child as being as profitable as their husbands do – the latter's reasons and criteria being the demand for the right to more land – or do they have other criteria and considerations ? Whatever the case, the notion of the individual profitability of children plays a decisive role in demographic behaviour and deserves to be clarified, so as to enable experts and planners to go beyond the stage of over-simplified analyses of highly complex situations.

The attitude of women in the Azrou community appears to be marked by a much more resolute desire to control births than is the case of the poor Gharb peasant woman ; an explanation for this attitude can perhaps be found in the history of the family. The economic role of the woman in the agro-pastoral family structure was a vital one and was recognized as such, as most of the family's production was dependent on her. However, at the same time, she was dispossessed and never had any right to land ownership. She has always had an attitude of revolt against the society, which she manifested among other things in birth control, practiced more actively and more independently than in other parts of the country. Thus, the very keen desire of the Azrou peasant women for birth control, unlike among the women of El Gharb, does not represent a new attitude but the continuation of a long-standing one.

Access to education will undoubtedly have a significant impact on today's and tomorrow's generations as regards their attitudes towards fertility and family planning.

Idea III : Belief in an all-powerful State that is capable of promoting a far-reaching agrarian reform would explain the peasants' attitudes and behaviour in relation to population phenomena such as emigration, early marriage, adolescent unemployment and family size

Population pressure exists, but it is not of demographic origin but economic and political in nature. The basic problem of population – resources relationship is posed essentially in terms of the availability of land. Peasants sense demographic pressure very acutely : they feel that the land available for each individual is shrinking and that, as a result, the number of inhabitants in relation to the land area is growing uncontrollably.

However, as they see it, this imbalance in the man-resources, man-land equilibrium is due not to demographic (a drop in mortality or a rise in the fertility rate) but to historical and economic reasons.

From this point of view their attitude towards immigration in general can be better understood. Unlike the inhabitants of other less fertile regions in Morocco, the people of Gharb do not like their children to emigrate and detest any "intruder" who comes to settle down in their region. The families living in the douar which are not native to the village are subjected to harassment almost every day. The community challenges their right to come and live on and off their land. Land is seen as wealth, and an ousider taking over any part of it is regarded as committing theft. This xenophobic attitude is far from commonplace in Morocco as a whole. In certain rural areas, it is part of the tradition to take in outsiders and even to try to persuade them to settle down by arranging their marriage with the women from the douar. It should be noted that these regions experienced labour shortage and the population density was too low by comparison with their agricultural potential. This is not the case in El Gharb, however, where the population density is around 120 inhabitants per square kilometre.

Idea IV : Belief in the power of technology to solve population problems : television as a means to self-education and escape from illiteracy

The fourth key idea that emerges from the peasants' message is that technology can solve everything. It can transform the environment, make it healthier, increase its yield and raise its production capacity. This unhesitating faith in the magic power of technology influences and moulds the demographic behaviour of the peasant ; it gives the peasants' explanations an air of optimism which is all the more surprising in that the peasant spends most of his time complaining. Attention should be turned back to the inquiry and especially to the sections on health and education in order to assess the impact of this faith and its behavioural ramifications. It may be recalled here that this faith in technology is reflected in a highly pronounced inferiority complex in relation to educated people, a thirst for knowledge and a desire for information about technology which is directly applicable in their daily lives. The obsession to own a television (even when the electricity has not yet been connected up) is one sign of this desire. Adults look at television as a means to self-education, to get informed, and to make up the lost ground as concerns the acquisition of knowledge. They see it as a means to ward off two fatalities of the peasantry : illiteracy and isolation.

This attitude reveals a deep aspiration for independence as regards the control over the various aspects of daily life, and for a more comfortable way of life, to be attained through two new features in the history of Morocco : a powerful State, motivated by the desire to procure well-being for its citizens, to install social justice and to introduce agrarian reform and a technology whose benefits need no further demonstration.

CHAPTER V

OPERATIONAL PROPOSALS FOR USING THE FINDINGS OF THE STUDY IN DEVELOPING POPULATION EDUCATION ACTIVITIES

The basis for these recommendations is the set of four key ideas which has been detailed above. These recommendations can be grouped under three major projects. The first would be a *series of seminars*. The material collected during these seminars might be used, on the one hand, for developing the content of curricula and teaching materials (textbooks, films, cassettes, etc.) and on the other hand, for designing the structure of a *multi-purpose education centre* which would serve as a forum for disseminating information and training open to both adults and children. The centre could organize training classes for the peasant families in fields which are of interest to them, and through which a "first course" in population education and various practical services (social assistance, technical help, co-operation, etc.), might also be provided.

PROJECTS I and II : SEMINARS AND RESEARCH PROGRAMMES

A series of seminars, round-table discussions, debates and study groups may be organized at the local level on the various technical problems related to environment control and the results could be used as base materials to prepare teaching aids, school textbooks, cassettes, films, etc. By bringing together adults, adolescents, teachers and civil servants, they could provide not only *the basis for future population education programmes at school*, but also serve as *an initial experience in informal, out-of-school education* immediately meaningful to the communities concerned. This approach is interesting in that it serves more than one purpose : dissemination of information, sensitization of parents about various population questions which could be included in their children's school curricula, collection of data to prepare teaching materials for school and out-of-school programmes ; creating the bases for family life education for adults (parents, etc.) in the community and finally, sensitization of the decision-makers and local officials about population questions in the communities themselves.

A. Seminar themes

The choice of the seminar themes would be governed by peasants' needs as revealed in the results of the interviews. Their aim, in each case, would be *to put three groups into direct contact : local peasants, local technical officials,* and a third group comprising *planners and decision-makers operating at national or international levels.* The object of the debates would be to allow the peasants to give their views about possible alternative solutions to each problem.

Furthermore, *each of the proposed themes* for the seminars should be the subject of *in-depth research,* for it *represents the very substance of population education.* Greater understanding of population questions by the populations themselves is crucial to any teaching strategy. The seminars are important, but they should be sustained, nourished and enriched by supporting research. They could also be used to bring research themes and concerns face to face with the problems as perceived by the people directly affected by them. Thus, each of the seminar themes would at the same time constitute a proposal for a line of research, which could subsequently be further refined and better organized in the light of the major sub-themes defined during the seminar discussion. Thus, in terms of chronology, a particular theme would be closely examined by a seminar, and then the major issues arising out of that debate would be further researched into and investigated before undertaking the preparation of teaching materials.

From among the proposals made by the inquiry officials, we have selected for illustration an initial set of *four themes particularly closely related to population education.*

Theme I : The perception of sex roles

It would be interesting to organize group discussions and seminars on sex roles and especially the role of the young girl in the community, with peasants of both sexes and various age groups representing the particular dynamics of the group, to be led by professionals from other regions (psychologists, sociologists) and local professionals (particularly teachers). Subjects of interest for animated discussions using brainstorming methods would be the following :

- domestic chores, the identity and status of those required to carry them out, the justifications for such division of labour, the behaviour models for the young girl and the young boy before puberty, the relations between these models and the adult roles into which children are socialized, etc. Particular attention should be given to the dynamics involved in the perception of sex-role, i.e. changes occurring with the appearance of contradictory models ;
- prostitution and the way in which it affects the image of the working woman. In Azrou and El Gharb, one of the

effects of proletarianization in rural families is the spread of prostitution, which is linked amongst other things, to factors such as the lowering of the standard of living and the break-up of the extended family system, which served as an institution of protection for the woman. Although rarely discussed directly, the subject of prostitution works its way into the peasants' message – as soon as the discussion turns to the subject of work for women, in relation with the disintegration of the traditional family model and the impact of the new socio-economic constraints.

In themselves, these debates serve as a means to creating an awareness among peasants of the negative aspects of continuing to assign a traditional role to the young girls, that of fetching water and minding livestock.

Theme II : Health and education : traditional and modern practices. The problem of traditional or modern contraceptive methods in relation to population questions

Under this theme, a number of relevant questions can be tackled, especially concerning the medical practices frequently used in the douar and what the peasants think of them. Two sub-themes should be treated in priority : *childhood diseases, contraception and venereal diseases.* Which diseases are common to children and how can parents deal with them ? Modern solutions and self-treatment methods can be put forward (taking certain medicaments, use of certain techniques by families themselves after informal instruction in the principle of health education). The views of the peasants, and discussion-debates on traditionally used methodes of contraception and those offered by modern medicine, their advantages and disadvantages, etc.

These debates and discussions should also be mixed, involving peasants and technicians of both sexes. They should be illustrated by the projection of films, slides and use of other audio-visual materials.

A special effort should be made to transcribe and analyze traditional terminology used for childhood diseases or for the diseases of the genital apparatus, and to compare them with modern terms.

It would be important to have seminars where peasant women could meet with and compare their own medical practices, assessment of certain symptoms and therapies with doctors and nurses trained in Western techniques. This would allow each side to test each other's terminology, to attempt to find equivalent expressions and thus open the way for a dialogue, currently at a standstill between the poor masses practising traditional medicine and the practitioners trained in western techniques who are often ignorant of the terms used in popular medicine. As we have seen, one of the factors blocking access by the masses to modern medicine is the relationship with medical personnel. The disruptions in this relationship reflect the inadequacy of the public health system to meet the demands in the area of contraception. The debates should bring together men and women for the reasons given in the inquiries, i.e. sometimes it is the man and at times it is the woman who has the role of procuring contraceptive devices.

The problem of venereal diseases, like that of local environment-related diseases (water not fit to drink, marshland, insects, rats, etc.) could be the subject of specialized seminars geared to promote optimal reflexion and dialogue between peasants, technicians and planners.The objective of the poor masses is to attain as much as possible self-sufficiency and self-reliance in matters of hygiene and health. Each individual should be able to obtain information and instruction in health matters, enough to practise himself simple and day-to-day techniques of hygiene and therapy. In this respect, the role of the pharmacist is vital to the extent that he enables people to treat themselves (1).

Thus, these health and family life education debates should in fact be organized on a regular basis and serve as a means to educational and social popularization which would build up a continuous dialogue between the "seekers" (the masses, particularly women) on the one hand, and the educational and medical institutions and personnel on the other, within a framework of lifelong education related to questions of population, family life and sexuality.

Theme III : The school and its roles in the community in respect of population questions

It appears from the inquiry that the frustrations concerning education are centred mainly around the problem of the means of transport – distance of the school and its inaccessibility, which is the main reason for drop-out. The informants were acutely aware of the complexity of the problem of access to the school, in view of the variety of geographical and demographic conditons in each douar.

Collective solutions for immediate implementation could be found during the course of seminars bringing together teachers, technicians and peasants. A seminar on the school and its role should also be organized for school teachers. The aim of this seminar would be to identify the obstacles to a functional school as perceived by rural teachers themselves ; a critical evaluation of this kind, which would be a strategically important element for an appropriate reform of education and its structure, has never been undertaken. At a subsequent stage, these results could be discussed in a similar meeting in which parents and other members of the community concerned would participate and freely express their views.

Demands in education are growing steadily and *family education is considered to be highly inadequate,* if not *totally lacking.* One of the complaints of the teachers is that families have totally relinquished their responsibilities. For their part, the families express the wish to have pre-school facilities to bring the children together from a very early age. It should be recognized that this desire for a modern pre-school structure indicates that indeed traditonal family education and the Koranic school are losing their value. Great importance is given to pre–

---

(1) A survey on the pharmacist-rural community relationship is vital if one is to understand peasants' behaviour in the health area. The role of the pharmacist is a key one as relationship with him is free from the hostility and frustration which characterize the relationship with the hospital.

primary education which has a very strong influence on population behaviour. Therefore, it should be taken up not only as a theme for seminars, but also as a subject for in-depth studies. The setting up of pre-primary schools would no doubt help improve the conditions of family life, by relieving mothers and elder children of the task of looking after young children and thus contribute towards a reduction in absenteeism of elder children from school.

Theme IV : The mass media : television and radio, and their use in providing population education

Television came out of the inquiry as being the most effective information channel in both the rural and urban milieu. The seminars and debates should incite schoolteachers and families to express their opinions on the television programmes and the type of educational, social, cultural and other programmes that they would like to see broadcast in their community. The seminars and study groups on television could thus meet peasants' expectations about television as a source of amusement, information and training.

Whereas the rural people accept television without reserve, the town-dwellers, on the contrary, tend to be more critical. Their criticisms should be taken up and investigated more thoroughly, for they suggest that some programme changes are in order ; the debates on television programmes should enable decision-makers and educationalists, especially population education planners, to design their programmes according to the wishes of the target populations. Television should be considered as one of the most effective ways of disseminating information to adults about population questions, employment, family life, health, nutrition and even sexuality.

In these debates, the importance of radio and the press should not be forgotten as they are important information media to increase the general public's awareness of these issues.

B. Organization of the seminar : Status and sex of the organizers and participants and venue for such seminars

(i) *Venue* : must be a *secular, modern* place. The sitting of these debates is of fundamental importance in view of the complexity of sex and class dynamics. However, the choice of possible sites for the meetings is limited : the mosque, school or in the open air. In a number of douars, there is neither mosque nor school. Places such as mosques should be avoided as women are accorded a clear subordinate status there. On the other hand, in the *souk* (or market) their status varies according to the region. Thus, in Azrou, the souk is not only open to women, but they treat it as an opening into the world and go there frequently. In certain regions in the North, souks are run entirely by women alone. Thus, the possibilities (advantages and disadvantages) of using the souks as a *place for popularizing education*, bearing in mind the status of women, should be looked into. Indeed, the souks seem to be a place where sex roles and dynamics are changing rapidly. In Skirat, where the souk was predominantly male-run, women dentists have appeared. This is a big event, and marks a break with tradition in that this trade was considered as a male domain ; moreover, the exercise of any trade whatsoever in a public place was hitherto considered as a male prerogative. Thus, the site for the seminars calls for very careful selection.

(ii) *Status and sex of the organizers and participants :*

These seminars should be organized in such a way as to bring together participants of both sexes as regards both animators and participants. Bringing together only women, which is a traditional practice, would not represent either a break with the past or a change and would have no impact on the important decisions of community life. The choice of animators and participants should be made through a series of information sessions and discussions, organized for the purpose in the communities concerned.

C. Phases of the seminars

Phase I : Brainstorming on a problem/theme, free, unrestricted discussion covering all aspects of the problem (e.g. emigration, family life, health and natality in the community, etc.).

Phase II : Educators and technicians would expose to the participating community members the possibilities, feasible solutions, cost and advantages or disadvantages of a particular alternative, and the extent of cooperation or individual effort required by such and such an issue.
Subjects should be tackled fully by educators and technicians so as to present practical solutions illustrated wherever possible by concrete examples.

Phase III : Enable the participants to make their own choice and justify it. Allow educators and technicians to discuss these choices with them and clarify at greater length the advantages and disadvantages of each solution. The outcome will be a dialogue where the community members will be able to expose their motivations, priorities and constraints, which are often disregarded by their social partners.

D. Use of material collected

The debates in these seminars should be recorded and transcribed verbatim, and used in the preparation of two types of instruments utilized in population education programmes :

1) *The content of teaching material* (teacher's manual, textbooks) : one of the most serious criticisms made by the teachers about textbooks in the rural area is that they do not treat subjects and questions relevant to the rural milieu. It would be possible to develop for the rural milieu a set of books based on population questions and family life issues examined during the seminar debates. In them, the pupil would not only recognize his own problems, but at the same time find that possible alternative solutions (which is a way of

making him capable of taking action) and their respective advantages and disadvantages are also examined. This will be one of the best ways of using class textbooks as an instrument of practical knowledge, information and training.

2) The recorded debates could also be used as raw material for the *production of audio-visual material* (cassettes, films, video, etc.) which could be used to feed the mass media at national (television, radio) or local levels (adults or child education through various institutions or schemes, such as women's clubs, nutrition and family planning programmes of the Ministry of Health, etc.).

Given the importance of the television for the community, it should be treated as one of the most sought-after means of *self-education* by adults and children alike. One of the problems of television is that its programmes are often of foreign origin, and are far removed from the day-to-day preoccupations of the people concerned, their environment and their problems related to family and social life. Thus, "ruralization" of television by encouraging the production of a wide range of materials for the mass media based on rural needs would constitute a great step forwards.

PROJECT III : A MULTI-PURPOSE CENTRE

The inquiry team also suggested the creation of a pilot rural school whose aim would be to diffuse useful technology in the form of information, training and repair services : a *Multi-purpose Centre* for information and practical application for adults and children. This project does not appear to represent a specifically population education oriented structure, but if it were to take shape, it could serve as a clearing house for a considerable proportion of the programmes connected with this particular activity.

The rural school is seen by children, parents and teachers as having no relation to the rural world and its needs. They are right. The subjects taught are of negligible interest to the pupils, and as a result they are doomed, despite three or four years' schooling, never to fit adequately into a rural community. Furthermore, the rural community has a daily need for information and to acquire a whole range of useful technology. This new type of school could fulfil these needs.

This would require a total reorganization of the rural school, personnel training methods and of curriculum content. Subjects such as biology, botany, chemistry, mechanics, electricity, simple medicine and health should be major items. They are all subjects into which population questions can be integrated and help to incorporate up to date content. To relate school to life – that of the nation, the community and the individual – is one of the aims of population education. The school can be used to educate children during the mornings, and adults in the evenings. At each child/adult level, a suitable mixture of theory and practice should be provided according to the needs and the learning ability of each pupil and to future prospects and aims.

A rural school geared to the needs of the community and its desire for self-management through the acquisition of technological "know-how" should itself be the subject of seminars and discussions at which the rural families would explain their own approach to the school, its organization and operation. It is important to remember that the main recommendation of the teachers concerning the rural school is that it should become a "school of guidance" endeavouring to prepare the child more suitably for his life of adult and citizen. A school of this kind calls for specific training of the teachers which should comprise appropriate training in those areas in which the peasants' demands are the most urgent (mechanics, biology, chemistry, etc.), the development of new and relevant educational material and especially the introduction of textbooks centred on practical work, and with illustration on practical applications. These books, cassettes and films could take as their source and inspiration the material gathered during the seminars and study groups held on questions of population and family and community life. Television can play a vital role in this new rural school project. A system of internal closed-circuit television, video recorders etc., should make the teachers' job and the students' work, all the more easy.

CONCLUSION

The socio-cultural study for population education in Morocco, involving a social situation which is dynamically rich and at the same time full of contradictions, shows how essential it is to work out an educational strategy based on a thorough and all-embracing knowledge of the context. In situations of such intense transition as repeatedly revealed by the inquiry dossiers, every effort should be made to establish a meaningful relationship with the individuals and social groups experiencing such transition, by seeking to practise an inductive form of education rather than merely presenting deduced knowledge or pre-established certainties. The study operators had no hesitation in taking the risk of transcending the customary bounds of such knowledge and the comfort of such certainties in their attempts to present the popular message on education, development and population questions through an approach of problems and themes which is clearly innovatory. The entire educational strategy and practice is being called to account through these interrogations about the socio-cultural constraints of a population education structure which is regarded as a tool of a development policy based on felt needs as expressed at grass root level. The problems thus raised and the suggestions put forward should make it possible to initiate fruitful experimentation and innovation – a necessary pre-requisite for action of wider and more general scope.

SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abdel Malek, A. *Dirasat fi'thaqafa al watania*, Dar Attaliaa, 1967.
- Al Khammach, S. *Waddiat al mar'a al aarabiya wa'l mujtamaa attaqlidi al moutakhalif*, Maktabat al Aalam Athalith.
- Aujard, "Problèmes de logement au Maroc", *Bulletin Economique et Social du Maroc*, N° 79, 1958.
- Beaudet, "Les Beni Mguild du Nord. Etude géographique de l'évolution récente d'une confédération semi-nomade", *Revue de géographie du Maroc*.
- Belal, A. "L'orientation des investissements et les impératifs du développement national", *Bulletin Economique et Social du Maroc*, January-March 1966, XXVIII-100
- Boujedra, R. *Répudiation*, Ed. Denoël, Paris, 1972.
- El Belghiti, M. "La planification familiale ou la déroute du malthusianisme de la femme", paru in *Al Bayane*, June 1976.
- El Belghiti, A. *Urbanisation et domination du monde rural*. Thèse de géographie urbaine, University of Toulouse-le-Mirail, 1978.
- Centre de recherche et d'études démographiques, Direction de la Statistique, *Fécondité Marocaine* (La), Rabat, N° 6, October, 1974. (Centre for Research and Demographic Studies).
- Jolé M., Khatibi A., Martenson M., *Urbanisme, idéologie et ségrégation : exemple de Rabat*, Rabat, Institute of Sociology and CURS, 1970.
- *La démocratie nationale : étape vers le socialisme*, Programme du Parti du Progrès et du Socialisme, February, 1975.
- Lapham, R. "Family Planning in rural areas, knowledge, attitudes and practices", *Population Studies*, The Population Council, N° 58, New York, April 1971.
- Laraoui, A. *Les origines sociales et culturelles du nationalisme marocain 1830-1912*, , Ed. Maspero, Paris, 1977.
- Ministère de l'Urbanisme, de l'Habitat et de l'Environnement, *Les quartiers de Rabat-Salé, évolution, situation*, 1972.
- Mernissi, F. "La répudiation : le cancer qui ronge la famille marocaine", published in *Al Bayane*, I March 1979 and *Al Assas N^{os} 15-16-17*.
- Mernissi, F. "Les femmes et la santé", published in *Al Bayane*, June-July, 1978.
- Direction provinciale d'agriculture de Meknès, *Monographie agricole de la province de Meknès*, 1977.
- Centre de recherche et d'études démographiques, Direction de la Statistique, *Nuptialité* (La), N° 12, Rabat, March 1975 (Centre for Research and Demographic Studies).
- Pascon, P. *Le Haouz de Marrakech*, T. 1 et 2, Ed. Marocaines et internationales, Tanger, 1977.
- Pascon, P. *Paysans et birth control : un dialogue de sourds*, Lamalif, 16-20/1966.
- Direction des statistiques, *Population légale du Maroc*, Recensement général de la population et de l'habitat, 1971, Rabat (Department of Statistics).
- El Saadawi N., *Al Mar'a wal jins*, Cairo, 1972.
- Séminaire National sur la Planification Familiale, *Le Journal de Médecine du Maroc*, T. III, N° 1, January 1967 (National Workshop on Family Planning).
- Direction de la Statistique, Centre de recherche et d'études démographiques, *Tables de Mortalité Marocaine*, Rabat, 1974 (Centre for Research and Demographic Studies).
- Toufiq, A. *Musähama fi dirasat al mujtamaa al maghribi fi ljarn attasia aachar*, inultane 1850-1912, Dar annasr al maghribia, 1978.
- Troin, J.F. *Les Souks Marocains*, Edisud, Aix-en-Provence, 1975.
- *L'histoire du Maroc*, Collective work, Hatier, Paris, 1967.

Population socialization in a region of Peru
– Background material for a population education programme –

Synthesis prepared on the basis of the Study of the "Instituto de Estudios Peruanos" under the guidance of its Director, Mr. Matos Mar.

Population Education Section, Paris

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Pages

FOREWORD 65

CHAPTER I: GENERAL PRESENTATION OF PERU 67

I. INTRODUCTION 67

II. DEVELOPMENT AND POPULATION IN PERU 67
1. Capitalism, regional development and population 68
2. The agrarian reform 70
3. The educational reform 70

III. POPULATION EDUCATION 70
1. The role of education 71
2. The role of the family 72

IV. METHODOLOGICAL POINTS 75
1. Objectives and theory 75
2. The area of study 75
3. Research techniques 76
4. Plan of the report 78

CHAPTER II: THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT OF THE REGION 79

I. INTRODUCTION 79

II. THE ASYMMETRIC UNITY BETWEEN COASTLAND AND MOUNTAIN IN THE MICRO-REGION OF CHANCAY-LAMBAYEQUE 79

III. UNEQUAL AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT 82
1. Historical background for the disparities 82
2. Capitalist development on the coast 82
3. The peasant economy in the mountains 83

IV. MIGRATION AND SOCIO-CULTURAL UNITY 84
1. The population explosion 84
2. The process of proletarianization 85

V. THE IMPACT OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM 85

CHAPTER III: FAMILY STRUCTURE AND POPULATION SOCIALIZATION 87

I. INTRODUCTION 87

II. THE STRUCTURE OF THE FAMILY 87
1. Processes of change in the family structure 87
2. Relations within the family 89

III. THE SOCIALIZATION PROCESS 90
1. Socialization in the family 90
2. Socialization outside the family 90
3. Conflicts between the various agents of socialization 91

IV. POPULATION SOCIALIZATION 91
1. In the family 91
2. At school 92
3. With friends 92
4. Through the mass media 92

CHAPTER IV: CHANGES IN THE PROCESS OF POPULATION SOCIALIZATION . 93

I. INTRODUCTION 93

II. PERSONAL EXPERIENCE AND AWARENESS OF CHANGE 93
1. Awareness of change in the practices and stages of children's socialization 94
2. Different socialization depending on the sex of the child 95

III. THE GENERATION GAP 96
1. Expectations in the school 96
2. Acquiring a profession 97
3. Migration 97
4. The importance of religion 98

IV. THE LIFE CYCLE IN PUCALA THROUGH THE EYES OF ITS INHABITANTS 99
1. Fertility and family planning 99
    Pregnancy 100
2. Natality and infancy 100
    Birth and post-natal period 100
    Infant morbidity and mortality during the first year of life 101
    The suckling period 101
    Baptism and "pelamiento" 101
3. Adolescence and sexual initiation of the young 101
    The value of virginity and the sexual initiation of women 102
4. Sex education of the young 102
    Parents 102
    The school 103
    Friends and peer groups 104
5. Marriage 104
6. From retirement to death 105

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSIONS, SYNTHESIS AND GUIDELINES FOR A POPULATION EDUCATION PROGRAMME 106

I. INTRODUCTION 106

II. THE POPULATION ISSUE 107

1. The socio-economic setting 107
2. The structure of the family 107
3. Fertility and reproductive behaviour 108

III. MEASURES PROPOSED IN THE DOCUMENT "LINES OF EMPHASIS OF POPULATION POLICY IN PERU" 108

IV. COMBINING THE RESULTS OF THE STUDY IN PUCALA AND THE "LINES OF EMPHASIS OF POPULATION POLICY IN PERU" IN A POPULATION EDUCATION PROGRAMME 109

TABLES, MAPS and DIAGRAMS

Pages

Table I: Evolution of the gross birth rates (GBR) and death rates (GDR), 1940-1970 69

Table II: Evolution of the gross infant mortality rate, 1940-1970 69

Organizational Chart N° 1: Structure of the new educational system 73

Organizational Chart N° 2: Structure of the NEC 74

Table III: Groups interviewed according to place of birth 77

Table IV: Groups interviewed according to level of instruction 77

Map I: Situation of Pucala, the micro-region Chancay-Lambayeque and the northern area of Lambayeque, Cajamarca and Amazonas 80

Map II: Pucala Agrarian Productive Cooperative Ltd. N° 36, area of study 81

Table V: Sectoral distribution of the gross value of production in the micro-region (1975) (relative figures) 82

Table VI: Structure of land before the Agrarian Reform in the Chancay-Lambayeque Valley 83

Table VII: The evolution of the population in the micro-region 84

FOREWORD

The team in charge of the socio-cultural case study in Peru was headed by Mr. Matos Mar, Director of the "Instituto de Estudios Peruanos" in Lima who was reponsible for the field work and the organization of the Final Report. This report was produced on the basis of the material supplied by the members of the research team, coordinated by Mr. José M. Mejia R. (sociologist) and Mr. Felipe Yanes Abarca (population expert) and comprising Ms. Cristina Espinoza (sociologist), Mr. Hugo Rojas (anthropologist) Mr. Bruno Lesevic (anthropologist), Mr. Enrique Rodriguez (sociologist) and Mr. Pedro Alba (anthropologist) ; Ms. Alicia Unger León (demographer) provided advice in the final stages of preparation of the report.

This team has prepared an extensive and valuable document which presents the conclusions of the documentary research and interviews carried out to record data concerning the rural mountain – the Sierra – and the urban coastal areas, both of which are relevant for drawing up a population education programme. The results of this research appear in the form of a report and four annexes ; unfortunately limitations of space that are unavoidable in a publication of this sort have made it impossible to issue the entirety of the sizeable work of the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, and we present instead a synthesis which reproduces as accurately as possible the essential features of the study's structure and contents.

CHAPTER I

GENERAL PRESENTATION OF PERU

I. INTRODUCTION

Despite the great volume of research which has been carried out over recent years in the population field, one seldom encounters studies which deal not just with the demographic and social aspects of the issue, but also with the way the persons most closely concerned regard it ; that is, the relationship between reality and society's perception of it. This shortcoming is all the more patent when one remembers that there are a whole series of intermediate factors between these two positions which condition or distort the understanding of this issue and can misguide individual and collective behaviours towards it. One of these intermediate factors, probably the most important, is that which involves the socio-cultural contexts in which specific populations live. Every human society has its own outlook on the world and life, and its views concerning population are but an integral, inseparable part of this. To recognize these contexts determine their particular views regarding population and help identify the underlying economic and political factors and their interrelationships which is one of the most effective ways of gaining an insight into social reality, especially when the purpose of the research is to work out a framework for educational activities.

From this point of view, and as part of Unesco's CAPAPE project (1), the present report deals with such questions with reference to the situation in Peru, a central country in the Andean area which saw the development of one of the earliest civilizations of the ancient world like the other areas of great, independent cultural development : Central America, the Middle East and Africa.

The aim of this study is to find out how population problems are experienced and perceived through a sociological and anthropological study of the history and structure of a specific region in Peru as well as the family organization of its inhabitants at a time of important political and social change.

As an introduction to this study, a brief outline needs to be made of the general characteristics of present-day Peru, focussing particularly on the subject area in question : the approach, hypotheses and methodology of the research and the plan of the report.

II. DEVELOPMENT AND POPULATION IN PERU

If one was to characterize Peru's present-day profile, some of the essential features to be considered would be the country's permanent external dependence and the deep-set imbalances between its regions together with the impact of its long, rich history on its culture and societal structure. This historical wealth does not just evoke the vestiges of a distant, grandiose past, but also points to the endurance of a cultural model that is indigenous, dynamic and constantly revitalized by the majority of its population.

It is therefore not by chance that alongside the one major city, Lima, with more than 4 million inhabitants, one quarter of the country's total population of 17 million lives in native communities. Nor is it by chance that 60 per cent of the country's urban population – some 4 million people – live in slum districts where they have built up a precarious and somewhat original form of habitat whilst at the same time continuing with the practices of the communities from which they originated and adapting them to meet their changing and new social needs. It is not surprising to learn, either, that alongside the official language, Castilian Spanish, at least 6 million persons speak Quechuan in 6 dialects ; in addition, over 40 Amazon languages are spoken.

Peru today is a multi-cultural and multi-lingual society which stands out as one of the best examples of a country having undergone colonial and neo-colonial political and cultural domination which is now having to redesign and incorporate production structures, participation systems and cultural and ideological features that are native to it. (2).

It is worth noting briefly that since the 1920s social changes and processes have been taking place which give Peru its contemporary image. In the economy, the agricultural sector – its cornerstone until the 1950s – has gradually yielded its place to industry and mining, to such an extent that its contribution to the Gross National Product has come down from 23 per cent in 1950 to just 15 per cent in 1968.Consequently, this sector has become gradually less capable of absorbing the expanding labour force in the rural areas and satisfy basic national demand for food. Socially, accelerating urbanization and a merging of various social groups into the capitalist economy took place against a background of steady growth in population in the nineteen sixties, in which formal education was the main channel of social mobility. In the world of politics, various ideologies sought to modify the country's structural organization through development efforts that were to fail time and time again.

---

(1) Unesco, 1978, *op. cit.*

(2) For a review of the history of Peru and its contemporary features, consult : Cotler, J. *Clases, Estado y Nación en el Perú*, IEP, Lima, 1978. On the cultural problem and its impact on education and language, see : Escobar A., Matos Mar J. y Alberti G. *Perú : país bilingue ?* IEP, Lima, 1978 ; and Escobar, A., *Variaciones Sociolinguisticas del castellano en el Perú*, IEP, Lima, 1978.

Towards the end of the 1960s, the crisis brought to a head by a combination of all these factors prompted a political change. From 1968 to the present day, transformations on a nationwide scale have been taking place under the Government of the Armed Forces that are affecting all existing social structures. A relatively autonomous modern State has risen up ; through a process of agrarian reform substantial changes have been made to the country's agriculture and, despite the fact that reforms in industry, education and other aspects of the urban world have been delayed, the momentum built up by radical measures in these areas has resulted in the emergence of new phenomena which are changing the characteristics of the popular classes.

Of these medium and long-term changes, three need to be underlined for the purposes of this study : those occurring in the population sphere as a result of the capitalist development of agriculture ; those brought about by the agrarian reform in rural society, and those caused by the educational reform that was endorsed by the National Education Law of 1972.

1. Capitalism, regional development and population

National census figures reveal that the population of Peru rose from 6,207,967 in 1940 to 13,538,208 in 1972 (1). This pattern of population growth can be attributed to both an accelerating decline – until 1960 – in the mortality rate (particularly of infants) and the time-lag before fertility also began to turn down ; this only begun to drop off slightly after 1960 and shows a less markedly downward-sloping curve. The average annual growth rate observed for the period 1940 to 1961 was 2.3 per cent, compared to 2.9 per cent for the period 1961-1972 (see Tables 1 and 2).

As a result of this high growth rate – the product of the mortality and fertility trends – population distribution by age group gives a wide-based age pyramid characterizing the population as "young". The under-15s represent 44.5 per cent of the population, the economically active (15 to 64 years) account for 52 per cent and the over-65s only made up 3.5 per cent. Accordingly, the dependency and infant dependency rates are very high : 93 per cent and 86 per cent respectively in 1970.

In terms of spatial distribution, census information indicates a three-way process : urbanization, concentration along the coast, and the absolute predominance of one single major city. Whereas in 1940 the rural population accounted for 73 per cent of the total, by 1972 it had dropped to 40 per cent. Over the same period, this process had prompted the mountainfold – 65 per cent of the total in 1940 – to move down to the coastlands, which in 1972 contained 47 per cent. Lima, itself a part of the coastal plain, contained 8.3 per cent of the population in 1940 and in 1972 it accounted for 23.5 per cent (2).

In terms of production, only a third of the economically active population (EAP) appears to be adequately employed and although unemployment is minimal – under 1 per cent – the remaining 66 per cent of the EAP is permanently under-employed.

Although this overview of the national situation may shed some light on the causes and consequences of the dramatic employment situation, the problem needs also to be analysed on a regional basis.

These phenomena are most noticeable on the coast. In all, the coastal area consists of 52 river basins, of which 27 are major geographical units formed by rivers which flow year-round down the westerns slopes of the Andes each passing through areas that cover various ecological systems, ranging from the fertile valleys of the coast, the less fertile rural valleys situated at 2,500 metres to the grazing land situated at an average altitude of 3,500 metres. Each of these valleys created its own micro-region centred around one seat of urban power.

Historically, the most highly-developed agricultural estates – the old haciendas – occupied the fertile coastal valleys and set up export-geared capitalist-based agricultural production exploitations, whilst a predominantly pre-capitalistic system prevailed in the mountains where a larger proportion of the population lived on subsistence farming.

From the beginning of this century, production requirements began to rise and the coastal estates looked more and more towards immigrant labour ; consequently, the capitalist economic system expanded, embracing new sections of the labour force and bringing about their consequent proletarianization. This process was encouraged by these estates as a way to ensure a permanent labour supply ; as a result, groups of families settled around the perimeter of the agricultural estates.

However, by the nineteen fifties, the introduction of new techniques in agriculture and administration and the relatively abundant supply of manpower brought about a reversal of trends ; new full-time employment opportunities were curtailed ; there was even a certain amount of shedding of labour, and this considerably aggravated the competition between prospective occupants of a post. At the same time, the peasant communities experienced a gradual impoverishment of their resources – which made a large proportion of their labour force redundant – and the commercialization of their economy, which undermined the bases of their internal cohesion.

In the social and demographic areas, the development of the capitalist agrarian model had serious consequences which denote two major periods. In the first half of this

---

(1) *Boletín de Análisis Demográfico* N° 15, INE, Lima, 1975.

(2) Peru is constituted by three ecological zones going from East to West : the coast ; the Sierra, the high mountainous plateaux formed by the Andin Massive ; and the Selva or "Montaña", plain covered by the tropical Amazonian jungle.

Table 1: EVOLUTION OF THE GROSS BIRTH RATES (GBR) AND DEATH RATES (GDR) – 1940-1970

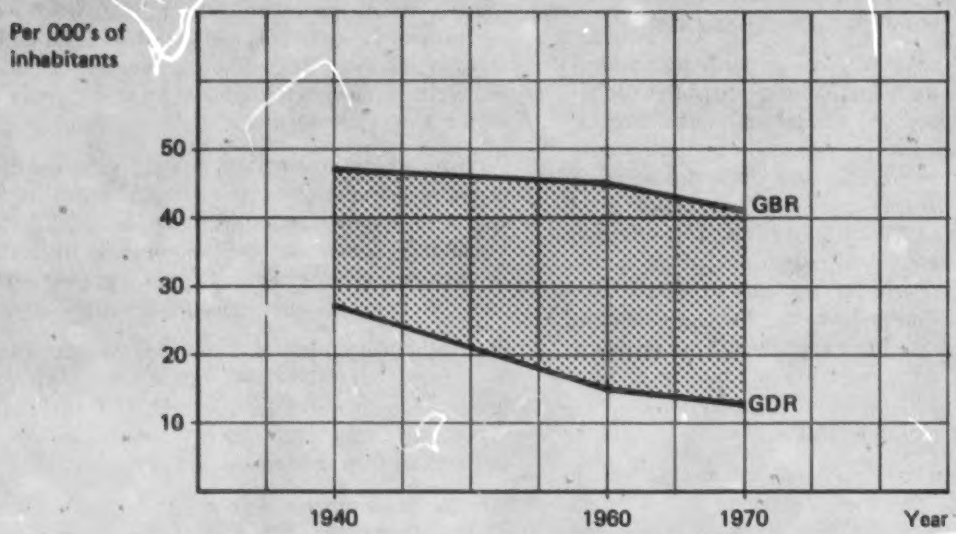
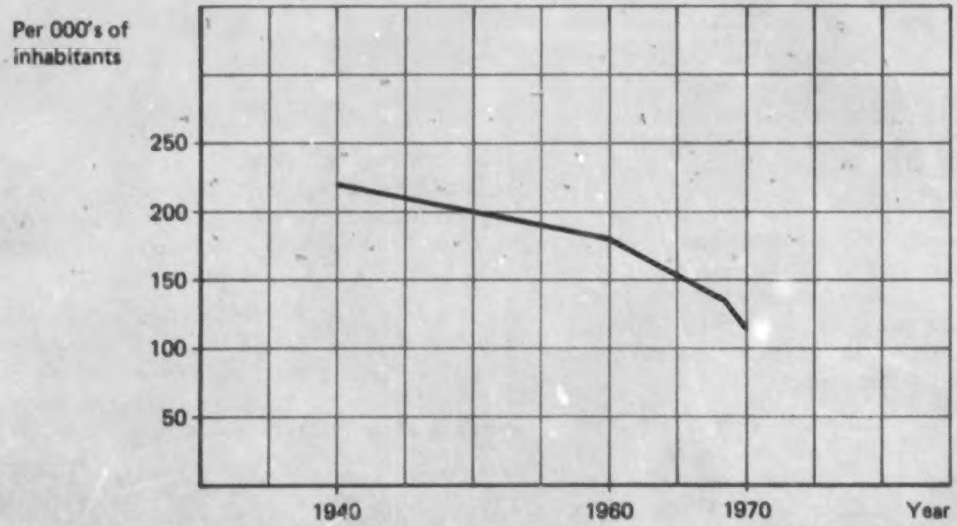


Table 2: EVOLUTION OF THE GROSS INFANT MORTALITY RATE, 1940-1970



64

century the movement of young, economically active bachelors towards the coastal areas produced slow, vegetative growth accompanied by an equally slow process of urbanization. In the peasant communities, on the other hand, a selective decline took place in their population, as the new job-hunters could not be catered for locally and were therefore obliged to go elsewhere. However, this loss was offset by a rise in fertility and the juvenile and infant population thus quantitatively balanced out the shortfall produced by migration.

The second half of the century saw a change in the direction of these trends, for migration to the coastal urban areas quickened in pace and the labour market became saturated. The vegetative urban growth and the steady high rate of migration prevented the labour from joining the unemployment market, whose rate of expansion could no longer match the EAP's requirements. This situation caused the population to take up employment in the tertiary sectors of the economy or fall into situations of underemployment or unemployment. Whatever the case, the underlying trend was the marginalization of incoming populations, reflected in the growth and rapid expansion of slum quarters, a new form of urban settlement and, to a certain extent, of social organization.

This two-thronged process – the capitalist development on the coast and the decline of traditional mountain agriculture – is at the root of the problems described and the major factor behind the formation of the now predominant section of the country's population.

2. The agrarian reform

The 1969 agrarian reform (1) sought to solve these problems globally by making radical changes in the patterns of land tenure and ownership.

In accordance with the objectives it sets out, in the period comprised between 24 June 1969 and 1979, 9 million hectares and over 15,000 haciendas and private estates were expropriated and subsequently transformed into 1,300 joint farming areas of four types : agrarian production co-operatives, community agricultural societies, peasant co-operatives and community-owned estates. Of these, the most important are clearly the co-operatives, not only because they cover the great majority of the 400,000 workers who are part of the populations concerned and live in the areas affected, but also because they have given priority to areas of greatest capitalist development (2).

For the same reason, it should be pointed out that the impact of the reform has been irregular. It has mostly concerned the coast and some developed areas in the mountains and on the edge of the jungle, but has failed to affect the largest part of the mountains and jungle, i.e. the least developed areas in the country.

From the political and social points of view, its greatest effect is to have abolished the traditional system of domination, thus enabling the State to be more closely involved in rural areas, on the one hand, and transferring most of the responsibilities previously held by the landed classes over to industrial co-operative organizations on the other. A social order of long standing was thus transformed.

3. The educational reform

Enacted in the General Law of Education of 1972, the educational reform sought to introduce substantive changes in the traditional educational system. As we shall see in the following chapter,it places particular stress on the active participation not only of the student but also of parents and the community in the educational process. It seeks gradually to build up a new awareness enabling the student to achieve self-fulfilment as a productive person within a dynamic economic and social situation.

With such aims in mind, it modifies the former divisions of the system and places particular attention on what is called Basic Education, in its two branches, Regular and Vocational Education, which, because they involve children, adolescents and adults alike, are set out as the corner-stone of the new educational system.

In the administrative field, it provides for decentralization by setting up "Nucleos Educativos Communales" (communal school nuclei) which furnish a real opportunity for integration between the school and the life and needs of the community.

However, as with the other changes that we have been analysing, proof is provided once again of the interactions that exist between the shape and direction given to reforms and the factors that stem from a country's historical background.

In short, when dealing with the case of Peru, two vital factors must be taken into account. The first is to acknowledge its centuries-old history, which prevails in the pre-capitalistic, so-called "traditional" rural structures ; the second is to remember that long-term transformations affecting the structures of the economy and society (such as greater integration into the capitalist economy and the consequent predominance of urban, industrial models, proletarianization and migration) and medium-term changes such as the contemporary reforms (agrarian, educational and others) are taking place within the country.

III. POPULATION EDUCATION

This study seeks particularly to examine a social process in relation with population phenomena the prevailing characteristics of education and family organization in the country today, with a view to serve as a basis for the elaboration of a population education programme.

In accordance with the details given hitherto, we shall begin our study by looking at how the changes outlined above are affecting this particular society and in what way the consequencs of such changes are being experienced by the population itself.

(1) An overall assessment of this process and its impact on the country's rural structures is to be found in : Matos Mar J. and Mejia J.M., *La reforma agraria en el Perú*, IEP, Lima, 1980

(2) Matos Mar J. and Mejia, J. M. *Reforma agraria : iogros y contradicciónes, 1969-1979*, IEP, Lima, 1980.

1. The role of education

Education plays an important role in each region. By the early 1920s, despite the fact that the State was then acting according to the interests of the oligarchy, it was forced to yield to the demands of the emergent urban populations and expand access to the formal eduational system, and this was reflected in a new distribution of the educational services with particular priority being placed on the most integrated sections of society. The nineteen-forties saw a change in this process as a result of new and more pressing social and political demands from the regions, in which pressure for formal educational programmes was the key point. At the same time the State began to place more importance on the need for action in this area, considering that education was the major factor behind national unity (1).

Thus the school became the symbol of the State's presence within the community, acting as the driving force behind modernization and passing on urban values and behaviours, and young people consequently sought to adapt themselves to the standards, patterns and expectations of the dominant urban society. This produced a change in traditional ways of life and values and created contradictions between the family, community standards and the school.

There can be no doubt that the extension of the school system's coverage caused the emergence of new migrant social classes in that it encouraged those who of necessity left their communities of origin to go to the towns and centres of economic development as the only solution if they wished to satisfy their demands and expectations. As a result, the tendency to adopt urban living patterns received ideological backing with the diffusion of the values of an urban, industrial and developed society in contrast to those of the rural world. In this process, an important part has been played by Government action through various national institutions, by the mass media, party politics and the momentum of the peasant movement itself.

Despite this, old traditions and customs in the structure and organization of the family still hold true ; the differential treatment of children still depends on whether they are male or female when it comes to their participation in the urban systems and institutions.

The processes of change are particularly reflected in the behaviour patterns and normative system of the populations concerned, since formal education is ousting the family unit from its role as basic socializing agent. This situation first arose during the 1950s and has gained momentum over the last fifteen years as a result of the introduction of town-based development programmes, which have caused the population growth in the major urban centres.

This process has grown in importance since the political change in 1968, accelerating still faster in the agricultural sectoaken back to their native commun 1969 agrarian reform law, which was to modify social relationships in the countryside by introducing the co-operative system to replace the haciendas and by establishing an industrial economic development project to be directed and supported from the town.

In 1972, within this broad context of political, social and economic change, the General Education Law was passed, intoducing educational reforms of structures, contents and methods. As the subject of our study, population education, is an integral part of the country's social learning process, we need to point out the most salient features of the reform and assess its impact at various levels of the political and social systems.

In the General Report on the "Reform of Education in Peru" prepared in Lima by the Ministry of Education, it had already been established as early as 1970 that : "We are convinced that an enormous gap exists between our social educational system and the needs to which the current situation in Peruvian society gives rise, and it is for this reason that the reform must be all-embracing, i.e. should introduce changes from the very fundaments of education to aspects of its implementation such as infrastructure, syllabus, methodology and teacher-training" (2).

Reiterating this declaration, the Educational Reform maintains that in order to assert, accelerate and broaden the effects of the revolutionary process, education should cease to be a preliminary or additional element in the structural transformations of the country, and states that its problems cannot be tackled simply by modernizing procedures or institutions. At the same time, one of the fundamental theories of the General Education Law is to aim for "an educational process whereby individuals and communities can acquire a critical awareness of the historical and cultural world in which they live, accept their responsibilities and take the necessary action to transfrom that world" (3).

One vital pre-requisite in this new awareness is the active involvement of the students, the parents and the community in an atmosphere of "responsible dialogue and participation" (4). Of equal importance is the value placed in the people's productive activities "as the mutually beneficial exercise of the individual's capacities for self-fulfilment in the production of goods and social services for the common good", which would make it possible to construct a society of workers with a new sense of involvement instead of the "labour force" that was exploitable for any purpose, or the simple provision of "manpower", as a synonym of that unfortunate term "human capital" (5).

It is important to note that these aims of "acquiring a critical awareness"and "participation of parents and the community" have not been effective as the State has maintained a predominant role and there has been a failure to train teaching staff adequately. So the Educational Reform has been only partially implemented, despite all the efforts that have been made.

---

(1) Cottler J., Alberti G., Chávez D., Paredes P., Sanches R. and Soberón L., *Aspectos sociales de la educación rural en el Perú*, IEP, Lima, 1977 (2nd edition).

(2) Ministry of Education, *Reforma de la Educación Peruana*, Informe General, Lima, 1970.

(3) Ministry of Education, General Education Law, Lima, 1972, p. 8.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 9.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 9.

From the organizational point of view, the Education Law introduces a substantive change in the traditional structure. Out of the three levels established by it (see Organizational Chart nº 1), Basic Education is the key feature of the system in force since 1972. It consists of two branches ; 1) Basic Regular Education (BRE) and 2) Basic Vocational Education (BVE) imparted in a non-formal setting designed for adolescents over 15 and adults. According to estimates, 56 per cent of the population will be in this category by 1980 ; one can thus appreciate how particularly important it is.

As far as Basic Regular Education is concerned, recent studies (1) reveal that one of its goals is "to stimulate the proper physiological and psychological development of the student and provide him with basic scientific, technical and humanitarian knowledge, build up his sense of responsibility, increase his aptitudes and help him acquire the necessary know-how and skills for his personal development ; encourage in him a sense of family life and a spirit of community and social co-operation, and an ability freely to assume life's ethical, religious, aesthetic and other values" (2).

One significant fact in the new experiment introduced with the Educational Reform is that for the first time in its history, attempts have been made in Peru to set up bilingual literacy courses for young people and adults in the mountain regions in the Quechuan and Aymaran languages. This had always previously been conducted in Castilian. These attempts unfortunately did not go beyond the experimental stage and failed to change the situation of cultural marginality of the indigenous, rural-dweller (3).

In the administrative area, the General Education Law makes a decisive step along the road to decentralization. In addition to the existing political divisions, ten educational regions were designated on the basis of specific geopolitical criteria. In turn, each region was split into areas run by a Regional Management Board.

The fundamental feature of decentralization, however, consists of "Communal School Nuclei" (Nucleos Educativos Comunales - NEC) which make up the so-called "Nuclear system". Set up on the basis of the former rural centres, they are defined in the Education Law as "the basic community organization for co-operation and the management of the services of education and any others used by it within a given area for the promotion of community life" (4). One objective, which is implicit in this definition and clearly stipulated in the Law, is that the NEC should co-ordinate the activities of the formal educational system with those of other sectors of local public life, such as hospitals, churches, factories, industries, etc. The school nuclei are therefore both a fulfilment of the administrative policy of decentralization and the organic link between the central educational authorities and the local communities, which participate and voice their opinions through them (see Organizational Chart nº 2).

As far as the Budget allocated by the State for education is concerned, a big increase is to be noted as from the political change of 1968. To illustrate this, in 1960 total public expenditure on education represented 2.6 per cent of the country's GNP whereas by 1974 it had reached a figure of 4.6 per cent of GNP, and the corresponding percentages of total State budget expenditure were 17.6 per cent and 23.1 per cent respectively. Worth noting on the subject of budget is a phenomenon to be found not just in Peru but in all Latin American countries, namely that the State allocates more funds to secondary and higher education than it does to the pre-shcool and primary levels. Also indicative of this is the clear rise in enrolment at those levels : in Peru, for instance, secondary education has expanded five times over, with annual growth rates of 13 per cent in the 1960s and 8 per cent in the half-decade 1970-1975.

Throughout this study we shall encounter factors that shed some light on the significance of this phenomenon, which in itself would seem to indicate that great importance is attached to education as a channel for economic and social mobility and promotion. For the time being, we have simply wished to point out these facts and stress their particular relevance for the preparation of a future population education programme.

Specifically in connection with population education, it is significant that in Peru, which until the late 1960s had shown no signs of having any set population policy, a Commission should have been appointed in June 1970 under the new Government of the Armed Forces to study a number of population problems in connection with a Development Plan for the period 1971-1975. This new concern is also to be detected in the Peruvian Government decree endorsing the 1975-1978 National Development Plan. In this work a document is issued under the title "Lines of Emphasis of Population Policy in Peru", the publication and distribution of which was entrusted to the National Institute of Planning. Furthermore, provisions are made for the necessary measures to be taken to ensure that "future short-term plans consider the specific population-related goals and activities to be implemented by all sectors, particularly Health and Education" (5).

2. The role of the family

Both the recent and earlier changes have affected the structure of the family just as they have affected the educational field, particularly in traditional peasant populations. The huge movements of population, the creation of labour markets and the trend from a predominantly

(1) Unesco-ECLA-UNDP, Third Regional Seminar of the Project *Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean*, 1979.

(2) Paper by Vargas Vega R., *Democratización y Educación Básica Regular : algunos aspectos centrales en la experiencia de la Reforma Educativa Peruana*, Quito, 1979, pp. 23-26.

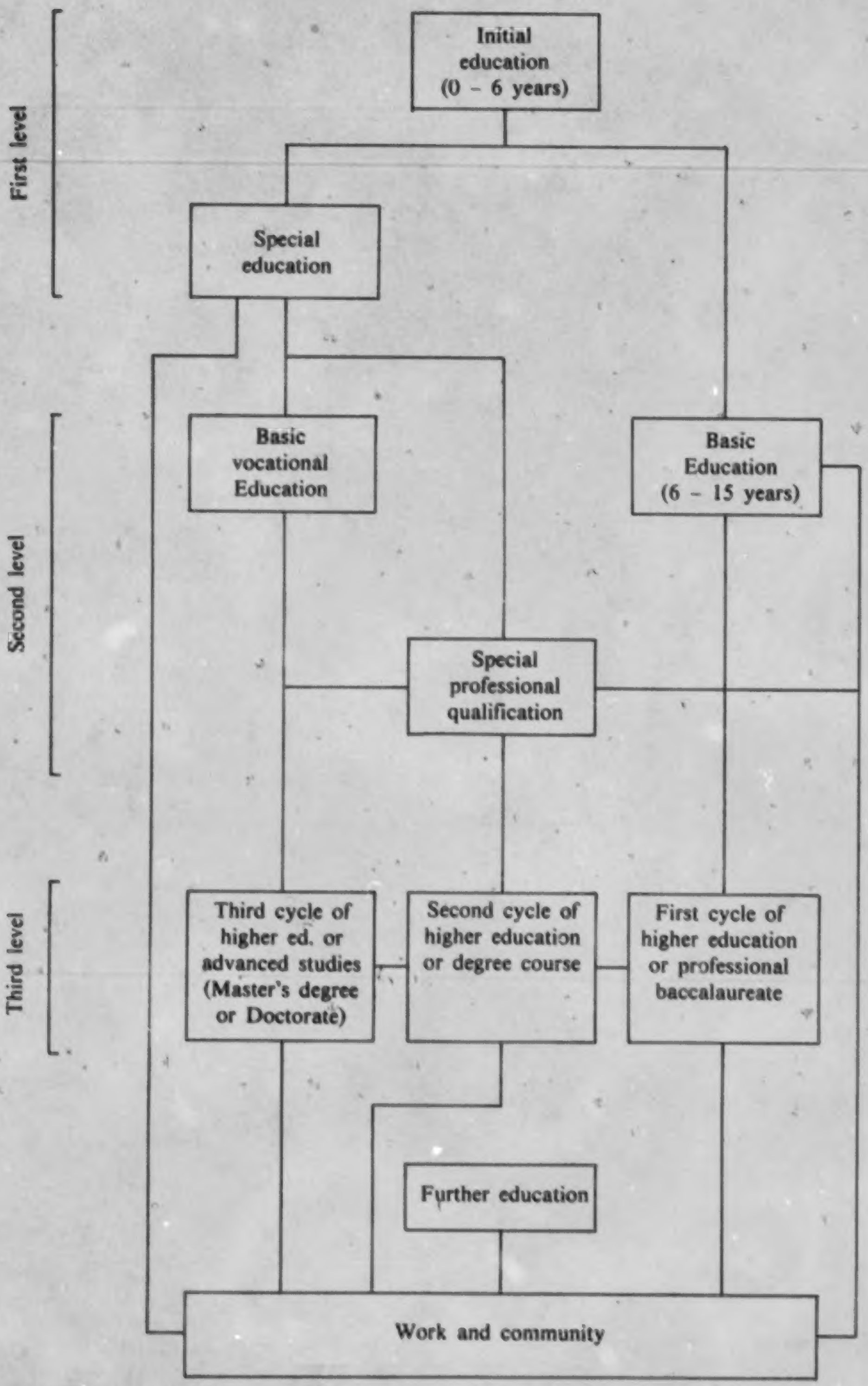
(3) Matos Mar J., Alberti G., Majia J.M. et al, *Educación, lengua y marginalidad rural en el Perú* , Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean Project, UNESCO-ECLA-UNDP, Buenos Aires, 1979 (mimeo).

(4) General Education Law, *op. cit.*, article 64.

(5) Supreme Decree Nº 00625-76-S.A., Government House, Lima, 31/8/77.

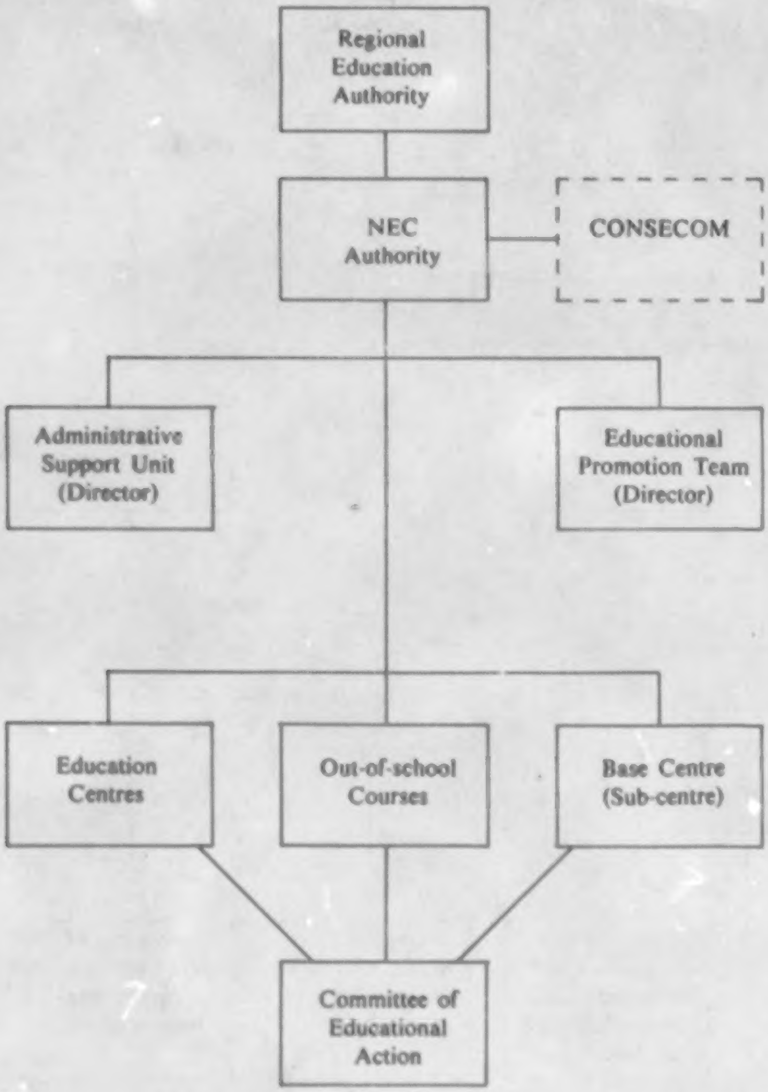
ORGANIZATIONAL CHART N° 1

STRUCTURE OF THE NEW EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM


First level
Second level
Third level
Initial education (0 – 6 years)
Special education
Basic vocational Education
Basic Education (6 – 15 years)
Special professional qualification
Third cycle of higher ed. or advanced studies (Master's degree or Doctorate)
Second cycle of higher education or degree course
First cycle of higher education or professional baccalaureate
Further education
Work and community

Source : Unesco, *Evolución y situación actual de la Educación en América Latina*, collection E.C.C. Santillana S.A. Ediciones

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART N° 2: *STRUCTURE OF THE NEC*


Regional Education Authority
NEC Authority
CONSECOM
Administrative Support Unit (Director)
Educational Promotion Team (Director)
Education Centres
Out-of-school Courses
Base Centre (Sub-centre)
Committee of Educational Action

Source : International Bureau of Education, Bizot, J., "Educational Reform in Peru", "*Experiments and Innovations in Education*, n° 16, The Unesco Press, Paris, 1975.

subsistence economy to a market economy have all modified economic roles and the way the population is involved in productive life. In their turn, the impact of the modern mass media, the expansion of the educational system and the experiences of migrant workers which are taken back to their native communities upon their return, have considerably disrupted the life in the rural-dwelling populations. In one way or another, the structure of the family has had to readjust itself to the new occupations taken on by its members and the extent to which they have been influenced by the agents of "modernization".

Population education, which in the past consisted in informal learning from the experience acquired in family production, inter-relations and organization, was altered when new forms of production and organization appeared which obeyed different economic rules, involved exogenous customs and values, and bowed to the pressure of local or regional interests and power groups. In other words, the system of traditional standards and values was subjected to the impact of an urban ideology based on formal education.

IV. METHODOLOGICAL POINTS

1. Objectives and theory

On the basis of the above considerations, the point of departure/ for the study was to consider the socialization process in population-related matters as a dynamic situation being changed as a result of the evolution of its most direct determining factors – family structure and education – an evolution which in turn resulted from transformations in the economic system, and consequently, in social, political and cultural relations and their attendant ideological concepts.

The aim of the study was firstly to pinpoint the major trends in the changes which are affecting the socio-cultural context in which a population-related outlook is formed, and to identity the effects of these trends on patterns, norms, values and attitudes in respect of descendency in the basic family structure, and secondly to outline the way in which population socialization takes place in the above context, with particular reference to the way in which it is perceived by the population itself.

Although this study refers to the situation in Peru, so as to broaden its potential field of application, the following general working hypotheses are taken as a basis :

a) In the process of capitalist transformation of agriculture from rural to urban society and from peasant to worker status, not only are there transformations of a structural nature, but, in addition, the various groups involved also modify their common socio-cultural patterns. Such changes, even when they vary in different cases, have an impact on the way of life and relationships, and consequently on family structure.

b) In such a process, new agents and forms of socialization emerge that may be different and even totally contrary to traditional ones (1).

c) The interplay between these contradictions generates motivations which tend to encourage adolescents, ideologically and practically speaking, to adopt roles defined by urban society, as it is towards the towns that the country's social and cultural mobility process is aimed, although this does not prevent the revitalization and reaffirmation of traditional norms despite the urban influence.

d) Contemporary society is witnessing the gradual disappearance of primary socialization forms – in the family – and the growing predominance of secondary forms – the mass media and the school system.

e) In the whole complex network of societal forms and inter-relations on the macro and micro-societal levels, a new family structure is taking shape which, although no longer organized in the traditional rural way, does not yet correspond entirely to the capitalist urban world. As a result, the family has entered a phase of dynamic readjustment of its internal organization and its role as socializing agent.

f) A study of society's contradictions, of the ability to co-exist or the split between the two outlooks and of the new alternatives being created within it, is vital for the preparation of a population education programme.

2. The area of study

The study selected as its area of application the northern coastal area, an economically and socially important region geared to capitalist agriculture. Within this region, the micro-region chosen for the centre of study was Chancay-Lambayeque and within it, specifically the "Agrarian Production Co-operative of Pucala, Ltd., n° 36" (2).

This micro-region, situated in the valley of the same name, covers an area of some 100,000 hectares, including the Western part of the department of Cajamarca and the coastal area of Lambayeque. The lower river basin forms an extensive, fertile valley for large-scale agriculture, whereas in its upper reaches, the basin is steep-sided with poor, scattered arable soil given over essentially to subsistence farming.

The economic and social structure of the valley reflects the general process indicated earlier. On the one hand, capitalist expansion on the coast has attracted migrant labour and the mountain communities have been unable to guarantee the economic security of their members ; on the other, the influence of a new social organization has reinforced the importance of money and formal education.

After 1969, the agrarian reform converted the former haciendas in the lower valley into some 35 "Agrarian Productive Co-operatives" (APCs), the most important of which are Pucalá, Tumán and Pomalcá, which produce and process sugar cane. These co-operatives not only offer work for their associates, but also to a large number of casual labourers, particularly cane-cutters.

---

(1) Without embracing a dualistic outlook, for the purposes of this study the set of relations, values and norms relating to pre-capitalistic production systems are identified here as being "traditional".

(2) The fieldwork and interviews presented herein were carried out in various settlements and quarters of this co-operative, but in order not to divulge the identity of the informants the areas will be named as above.

The "APC Pucalá Ltd. N° 36" is situated at the heart of the micro-region or, more precisely, at the head of the river Chancay, nearest to the water supplied from the Tinajones reservoir. The administrative capital of the department of Lambayeque and of the province of the same name, Chiclayo, is some 30 kilometres away and the two are connected by an asphalt road which links up the other major sugar-cane agrarian co-operatives in the region – Pomalcá and Tumán – before heading towards the mountains and the district of Chongoyape and the provinces of Cajamarca - Santa Cruz, Chota and Cutervo.

This APC was set up under the agrarian reform of 1970. When the law came into force, there were more than 4,500 employees working there, of whom only some 3,000 were regular workers. It was finally decided to consider 3,194 as associates, a figure which has increased to nearly 3,700 over recent years. Approximately 65 per cent of these associate workers are employed in agricultural work and the remainder work in the administrative sector and in manufacturing activities.

Today, the APC covers some 33,937 hectares and has a population of 23,747, living in eight settlements of which the most important are Pátapo (9,000 inhabitants), Pucalá (8,000 inhabitants) and Batán Grande (6,000). Most of the inhabitants originate from the department of Cajamarca.

It should be pointed out that in the APC of Pucalá, there is a heavier concentration of labour than in the other agro-industrial complexes, and a conspicuously large group of potential workers who were born in the area, because of the co-operative's inability to take on more labour and the regional economy's under-development, form a large group of under-employed and unemployed persons living in and around Patápo.

This area has become the most important in the co-operative, despite the fact that, in 1976, it only employed 1,549 workers, 1,294 of whom were associate workers (beneficiaries of the agrarian reform) and 256 came under the category of "hired labour" (regular non-associate workers), out of a total population of 9,626 inhabitants.

This situation also explains, for example, why the slum district of Pósope Alto has grown up in the immediate vicinity of Pátapo, separated from the main town by the dry river course of the Taymi, with a population of 9,000, and representing a potential home for the jobless of the area.

The combination of the above-mentioned factors allows to study these settlements as being representative of the rural world on the Peruvian Coast.

3. Research techniques

The research used a combination of sociological and anthropological techniques. The former were used to compile and analyse the material concerning the regional and labour context, the latter for recording individual cases.

To obtain primary information, the following sources were used :

a) An interview prepared on the lines drawn up by the CAPAPE research outline, conducted with 62 persons of whom 19 were heads of family – 9 working as associate workers at the Pucalá Co-operative and living in settlements on the estate, and 10 living in slum quarters – 10 were mothers, the wives of associate workers ; 6 were teachers at the primary and secondary schools and 27 were the adolescent children of the associate workers.

As indicators for the selection of the sample, it was decided to use some of the data from the curriculum vitae such as place of birth, level of instruction, age and, for adolescents, sex as different treatment was given on a number of points according to the sex of the informant.

The largest percentage of informants came from the province of Chota, department of Cajamarca, and this trait was particularly obvious with the fathers and mothers interviewed, where 42.10 per cent and 50 per cent respectively fitted the case. This is because years ago, parents migrated to Pucalá where they settled down and established families. One should therefore treat a high percentage of native adolescents (88.89 per cent) of Pucalá as migrants' children. In the case of the teachers, 50 per cent were born in Pucalá, 33.33 per cent were from outside Lambayeque and 16.67 per cent were from Cajamarca (see Table III).

Concerning the level of instruction (see Table IV), it was noted that the majority of fathers (36.85 per cent) had not completed secondary education, followed by 21.56 per cent with a complete primary education and 21.05 per cent with an incomplete primary education ; only 5.26 per cent were illiterate.

As regards mothers, 40 per cent were illiterate and as many had not completed primary education ; 10 per cent had completed primary education and another 10 per cent secondary education. This situation is understandable when it is considered that the women's schooling was severely restricted in their places of origin and during the period when they were living on the haciendas.

The ages of the fathers interviewed ranged between 26 and 60 with the greatest number between 36 and 40 (26 per cent of the sample). The mothers' ages were mostly situated between 31 and 35 years (40 per cent of the sample). The ages of teachers were distributed equally among three age groups : 23-25, 26-30 and 31-35.

As for the adolescents, 29.63 per cent were aged between 14 and 16 ; approximately 44 per cent between 17 and 18 and 25.39 per cent between 19 and 20. This age distribution made for varying views of population-related problems, depending on age.

It should be pointed out that owing to a long halt in work, the adolescent boys (59.26 per cent of the sample) had scattered and this made it impossible to conduct a greater number of interviews. Secondly, adolescent girls (40.74 per cent) were hesitant in dealing with the subject of sexuality. In many cases they did not answer clearly and in others they avoided giving answers concerning sexual behaviours and relations.

b) To supplement and enhance the value of this sample, 6 autobiographical interviews were conducted : 2 with adolescents, 2 with fathers, 1 with a mother and 1 with a teacher. All six bear witness to the ways in which they individually apprehend, tackle and solve population related problems.

c) With the same aim, informal interviews were carried with key informants : leaders, trades union representatives and officials from the Co-operative's Education Committee ; a doctor, an obstetrician and social workers ; the educational authorities from the Patapo office ; local midwives, the magistrate and the parish priest.

From a methodological point of view, the work consisted in reconstituting the "life-cycle" of an average migrant worker who had been settled on the estate for an average of 20 years. When describing this life-cycle, special emphasis was placed on the set of beliefs and practices related to population issues, the particular ways in which these show through in daily life and how they are perceived ; these data may then be taken into account when drawing up a population education programme.

TABLE III : *GROUPS INTERVIEWED ACCORDING TO PLACE OF BIRTH*

	PLACE OF BIRTH										TOTAL	
	Pucalá		Other places in Lambayeque		Chota Province		Other provinces of Cajamarca		Other departments			
	Nº (1)	%	Nº	%	Nº	%	Nº	%	Nº	%	Nº	%
Fathers	5	26.32	2	10.53	8	42.10	1	5.26	3	15.79	19	100.00
Mothers	3	30.00	2	20.00	5	50.00	–	–	–	–	10	100.00
Adolescents	24	88.89	1	3.70	–	–	–	–	2	7.41	27	100.00
Teachers	3	50.00	–	–	–	–	1	16.67	2	33.33	6	100.00
TOTAL	35	56.45	5	8.06	13	20.97	2	3.23	7	11.29	62	100.00

(1) Nº : Number of persons interviewed.

TABLE IV : *GROUPS INTERVIEWED ACCORDING TO LEVEL OF INSTRUCTION*

	LEVEL OF INSTRUCTION												TOTAL	
	Illiterate		Incomplete Primary		Complete Primary		Incomplete Secondary		Complete Secondary		Higher or Technical Training			
	Nº(1)	%	Nº	%	Nº	%	Nº	%	Nº	%	Nº	%	Nº	%
Fathers	1	5.26	4	21.05	4	21.56	7	36.85	2	10.53	1	5.26	19	100.00
Mothers	4	40.00	4	40.00	1	10.00	–	–	1	10.00	–	–	10	100.00
Adolescents	–	–	1	3.70	–	–	22	81.48	4	14.49	–	–	27	100.00
Teachers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	100.00	6	100.00
TOTAL	5	8.06	9	14.52	5	8.06	29	46.78	7	11.29	7	11.29	62	100.00

(1) Nº : Number of persons interviewed.

4. Plan of the report

This report is divided into three parts. The first deals with the regional context of the population under study and, on the whole, high lights the inequalities in the region's make-up, the importance of migration and how this phenomenon is a factor of social and cultural uniformity in the region despite its diversity.

The second part presents a brief outline of the type of family structure that has grown up under the general conditions described and the basic characteristics of the global socialization process which young people undergo.

In the third part, on the basis of the analysis of the interviews and the description of the life cycle, an examination is made of the various groups' own subjective points of view - fathers, mothers, teachers and adolescents (boys and girls) - on some of the main points analysed in the second part.

The material presented is not intended to be merely a checklist of the statistical context of the population socialization question, - it puts us face to face with aspects of reality that go far beyond the interpretations it apparently provides, that is, how the inhabitants of Pucalá are born, live and die.

Lastly, in the conclusion chapter, an attempt is made to amalgamate all the details supplied in this report with a view to the possible preparation of a population education plan.

CHAPTER II

THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT OF THE REGION

I. INTRODUCTION

Historically, Peru is the result of the transversal and longitudinal merging of some ten regions that grew up as separate ecological entities. This meant that self-sufficient economies and particular cultural features developed in the regions, conferring upon each one a certain individual identity, but this has not produced any lack of either national unity or a centre of power, a role played in present days by Lima. Each of these regions which displays different degrees of development, has developed its own economic networks and circuits and built up various patterns of power, class and ethnic group inter-relations, an indication of the low degree of integration which is a major characteristic of the country.

As a result, the northern region, in one of its main entities, formed by the departments of Lambayeque, Cajamarca and Amazonas, which is the area selected for this study (see map 1), displays specific structural features which have a definite bearing on the population situation. These features may be grouped together under three headings : 1) being part of an unequally-developed area whose cementing factor is the relation between coastal plantation agriculture and the declining mountain peasant economy ; 2) the development of a considerable out-flow of permanent migrants from mountain - the sierra - to coast, as a result of which rapid proletarianization has occurred and socio-cultural patterns have changed ; 3) the fulfilment of a national agrarian reform programme, one of the most important social consequences of which has been the elimination of the traditional hacienda system. The micro-region of Chancay-Lambayeque is representative of this situation, and we shall focus our attention upon it.

II. THE ASYMETRIC UNITY BETWEEN COASTLAND AND MOUNTAIN IN THE MICRO-REGION OF CHANCAY-LAMBAYEQUE

In the region under consideration, one micro-region of particular relevance is the Chancay-Lambayeque valley, which covers part of the departments of Lambayeque and Cajamarca (see maps 1 and 2) and has a coastland and mountain ecology with its centre of production and population situated in the lower basin of the river.

The arable land, covering 110,794 hectares, is of the highest quality ; woodland and natural pastures cover up to 100,910 hectares and 233,150 hectares consist of arid land. The area has a population of 368,898 inhabitants, 302,473 of whom live in towns and 66,425 in the countryside.

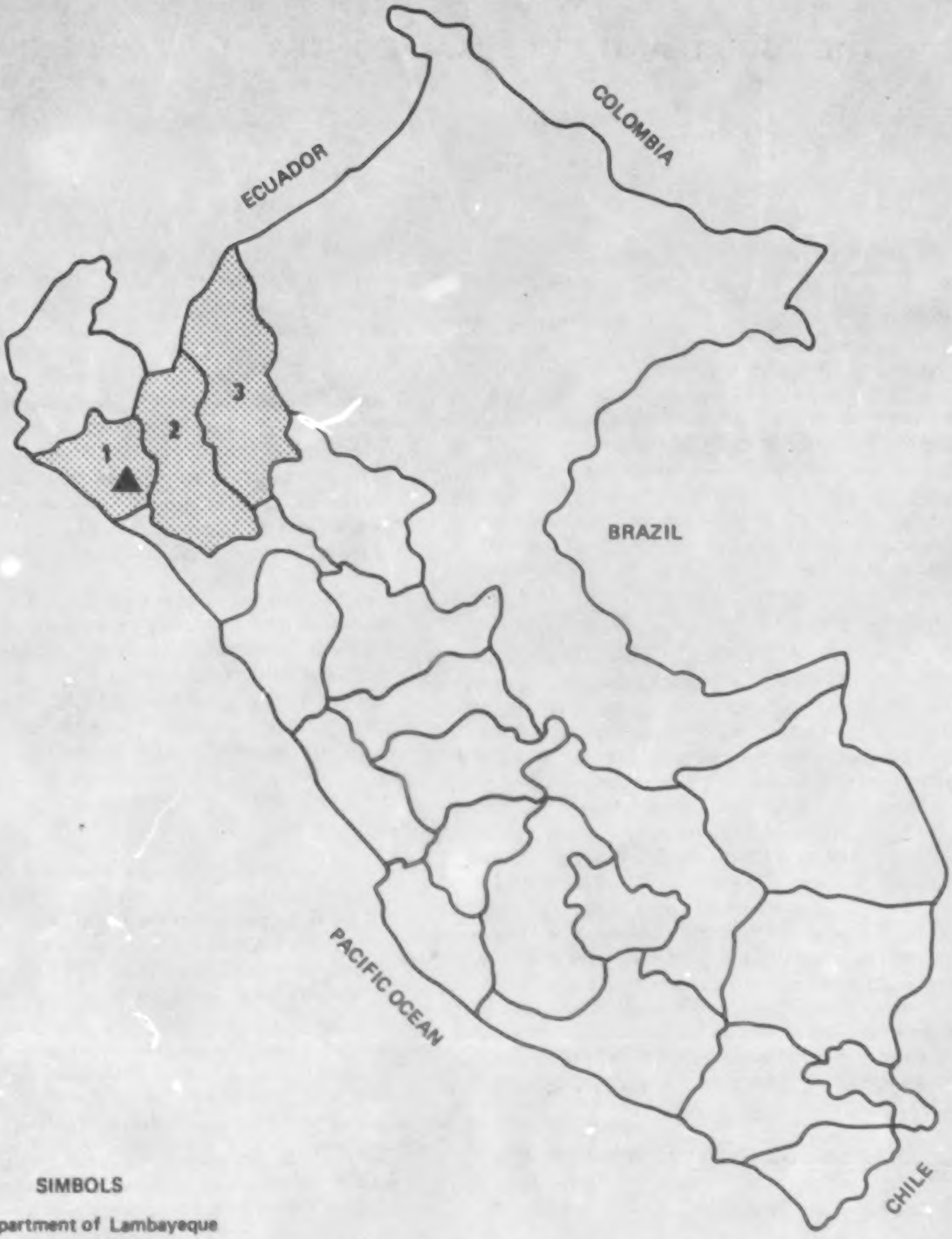
The asymmetric nature of the link between coastland and mountain, signs of which had already become apparent in the mid-19th century, took definite shape in the early part of this century when the sugar industry and big-scale rice cultivation called for more labour from the mountains to replace the unskilled labour which had been imported from China and Japan and was unable to withstand the living conditons imposed on the haciendas.

Thus, the channelling of peasant labour from the western reaches of the department of Cajamarca towards the sugar-cane plantations not only became the main mechanism of the proletarianization which took place on the coast but was also a factor behind the disintegration of the traditional mountain economy and its eventual absorption into the regional market as a supplier of agricultural produce and a consummer of town-made produce, in a relationship of dependence and unequal exchange.

The swift development of the coastal area gave rise to an economy based on two activities : agricultural production and the industrial processing of its produce. The former became highly specialized, as we saw above, in sugar-cane and rice cultivation, and became a part of, and dependent on, industry from abroad or from other regions in the country. For their part, agro-industrial processing activities were centred on sugar refining, bottling milk and the production of some foodstuffs. These activities account for most of the overall production in the micro-region *and* also in the region as a whole (see Table V).

Economic modernization and social needs led to the development of a widespread network of communications between the agricultural co-operatives, towns, districts, provinces, and Chiclayo and other towns of regional and national importance. Secondly, the gradual increase in State involvement, particularly since the 1950s, with the creation, expansion and integration of public institutions and offices, increased centralization and fiscal control of economic resources and regional governments, helped to reinforce the coast's predominance and administratively subordinated the entire economic periphery of the micro-region.

MAP I: SITUATION OF PUCALA, THE MICRO-REGION CHANCAY-LAMBAYEQUE AND THE NORTHERN AREA OF LAMBAYEQUE, CAJAMARCA AND AMAZONAS


COLOMBIA
ECUADOR
3
2
1
BRAZIL
PACIFIC OCEAN
CHILE

SIMBOLS

1. Department of Lambayeque
2. Department of Cajamarca
3. Department of Amazonas

▨ Micro-region Chancay-Lambayeque

▲ Pucalá:
6°36' and 6°48' South and
79°21 to 79°40 West

MAP II: PUCALA AGRARIAN PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATIVE LTD.
No. 36, AREA OF STUDY

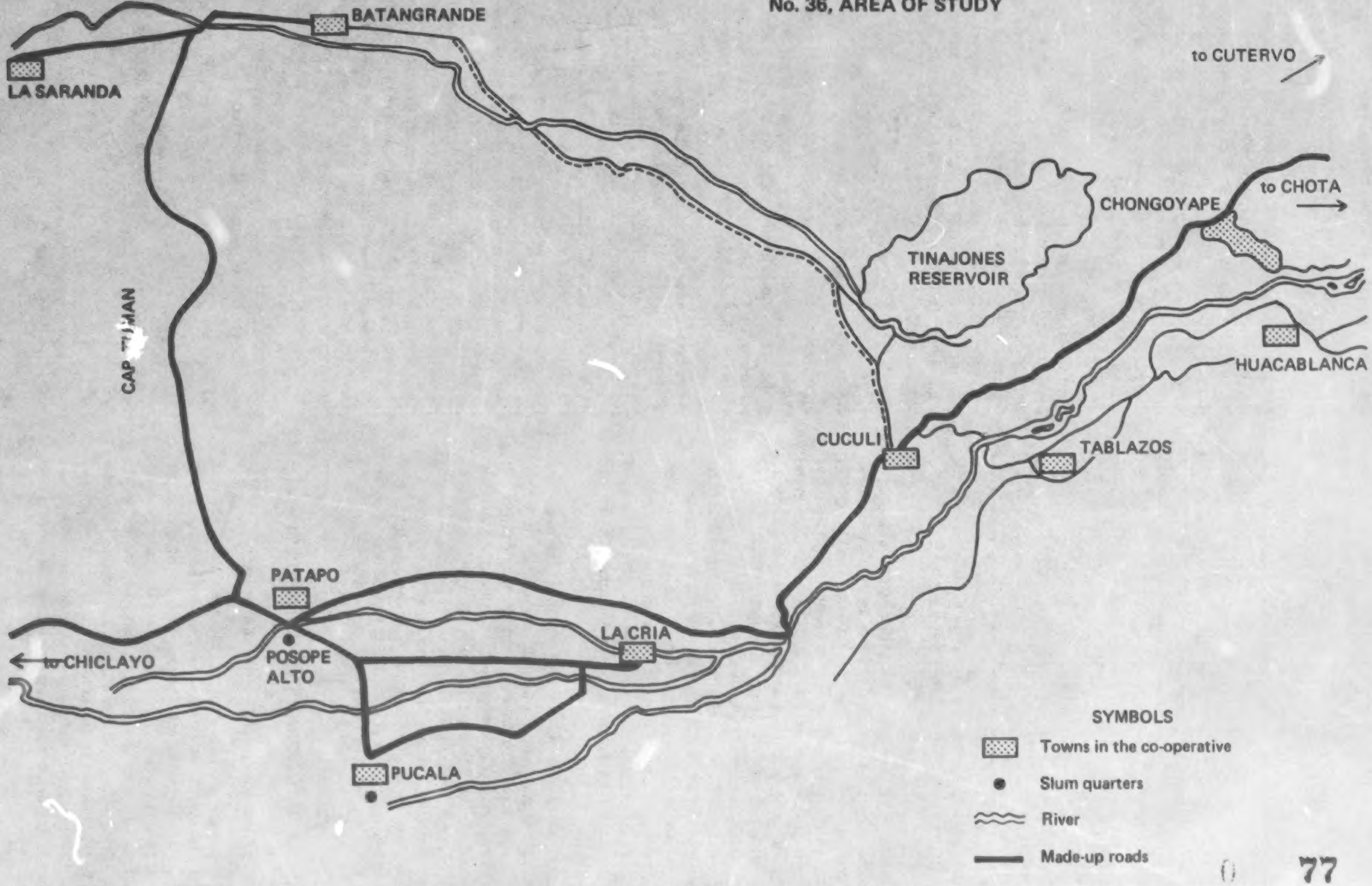

BATANGRANDE
LA SARANDA
to CUTERVO
CAP. TUMAN
TINAJONES RESERVOIR
CHONGOYAPE
to CHOTA
HUACABLANCA
CUCULI
TABLAZOS
PATAPO
LA CRIA
to CHICLAYO
POSOPE ALTO
PUCALA
SYMBOLS
Towns in the co-operative
Slum quarters
River
Made-up roads

TABLE V : ***SECTORAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE GROSS VALUE OF PRODUCTION IN THE MICRO-REGION (1975) (RELATIVE FIGURES)***

	GVP (000's of SOLS)
AGRO-INDUSTRY	
- Sugar	4,616.1
- Milk	1,017.9
- Foodstuffs	552.2
AGRICULTURE	3,414.1
INDUSTRY	2,085.5

Source : Prepared with information from the Regional Survey of the Instituto nacional de Planificacion, Chiclayo, 1975.

As a result of these phenomena, one major built-up area on the coast, Chiclayo, and the four agro-industrial sugar plantations (Pucalá, Tumán, Pomalcá and Cayaltí), became the principal foci of settlement. Chiclayo has grown into the most populated and important town in the North-East of the country, and become the hub and centre of attraction for regional development and for the migratory currents of rural-dwellers. In their turn, the four agro-industrial complexes constitute the largest and most efficient agricultural units in the area, the most important manufacturing processing plants, the heaviest concentrations of labour and the main centres of economic activity which, second only to the town, have encouraged a considerable expansion of commercial and service activities.

Standing out from this general picture is the rapid and widespread emergence of slum quarters, which have risen up, not as separate units away from the major towns, but as extensions and offshoots of them – since they surround them – to such an extent that in Chiclayo and the four complexes in question, immigrants, the jobless and wandering salesmen account for almost half the total population. Thus, the predominance of Chiclayo, the four agro-industrial complexes and the slums are the best examples of the imbalances in the micro- region.

III. UNEQUAL AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

1. Historical background for the disparities

The prevailing asymmetry in the region does not stop here, however. If we wish to gain a better understanding of social relationships and their population problems, we must look more closely into the factors that have been behind the unequal agrarian development in the region. In the first place, there are historical bases for these differences. Spain's conquest of the Inca State put an end to the process of autonomous development which had been taking place in the Andean area and imposed a new colonial socio-economic structure whose rural base was the hacienda and the native community.

The changes imposed by the colonialists gave rise, among other consequences, to a demographic catastrophe which would seem to have hit in a particularly hard manner the northern Peruvian coast. The massive rate of depopulation allowed the ruling elite to redistribute land ownership by grouping together and re-organizing the scattered native populations. Some of the people were given land within the "native communes" whilst the others came under the authority and control of the Spanish in vast estates and became part of the new political and administrative system of *"encomiendas"* (holdings) and *"repartimentos"* (plots).

Meanwhile, those natives who had fled from the demands for taxes and services made by the new masters of the land, had taken to the mountains. At a safe distance from the central authorities, they were able to set up a subsistence economy there and, by re-creating the ties of the traditional communities, built up a type of community organization which has preserved indigenous cultural characteristics.

2. Capitalist development on the coast

From 1860 onwards the sugar industry and trade began to expand as a result of capital investment made with the profits of guano-cultivation and exportation. Economic prosperity led to the emergence of a native elite devoted to trade and finance, and of a landowning aristocracy which extended its land ownership with the benefit of favourable prices on the international market (Liverpool) and the intensive exploitation of the workforce of Chinese coolies who began to arrive in the country in the second half of the nineteenth century (1).

At the same time, trading activities began to grow up with the establishment of the first import and export houses. Furthermore, these companies provided credit for the small-and medium-sized estates by granting mortgages, which eventually turned into a system of plundering the land and letting the traders into agriculture in a new-found role as small – and medium-sized landowners. Alongside this process, the first industries started to establish themselves as from 1900, and a railway line was built between the port of Eten and the then expanding Chiclayo ; all these activities were controlled by the tradesmen who had set themselves up into an association headed by the main landowners of the town. (2) Three major agrarian complexes, Pucalá, Tumán and Pomalcá, dominated the micro-region and, in addition to cultivation, processed the sugar cane ; these were the principal bases for the rise of a regional oligarchy.

The First World War boosted the country's raw-material production to satisfy new and increasing demand from abroad. At the end of the hostilities, a world-wide economic recovery got underway accompanied by a

(1) Klaren, P.F., *Formación de las haciendas azucareras y origenes del Apra*, Lima, IEP, 1976.

(2) Bachmann, C., *Monografía del departamento de Lambayeque*, Chiclayo, 1921.

TABLE VI : *STRUCTURE OF LAND TENURE BEFORE THE AGRARIAN REFORM IN THE CHANCAY-LAMBAYEQUE VALLEY*

	N° of Units	%	Area	%
Plantations (over 500 has.)	17	0.22	31,194.81	42.68
Haciendas (100 - 150 has.)	57	0.75	10,958.29	13.05
Estates (15 - 100 has.)	400	5.24	12,973.64	16.19
Medium-sized holdings (5 - 15 has.)	1,266	16.58	11,106.89	13.86
Small holdings (under 5 has.)	5,895	77.21	11,390.78	14.22
TOTAL	7,635	100.00	77,624.41	100.00

Source : Prepared on the basis of information from the Irrigation network of the Chancay valley, Agrarian Zone no. II, Lambayeque, undated.

realignment of the foreign spheres of influence of the main, rapidly-developing industrial countries. For Peru, this meant the end of British predominance and the beginning of North American influence. Under such circumstances, the sugar industry in Peru achieved unprecedented export performances and the country's economy opened up to imported technology and foreign capital.

This upward-moving cycle was given a further fillip as a result of the demand generated by the Second World War and the later Korean conflict, and the country moved on into a phase of permanent technological and industrial modernization.

By 1960, coastal agriculture was fully capitalist and dominated the micro-region's agricultural structure. Less than 1 per cent of the agricultural units – the great haciendas and plantations – occupied over 55 per cent of the total area of cultivated land, which was, moreover, of the highest soil quality (see Table VI).

However, despite their closer links with the urban world, the internal organization of the capitalistic haciendas remained one of a closed social system where the landlord had great control over social relations and behavioural norms, to such an extent that industrial modernization and social control were two inseparable features in the developed coastal agricultural area.

3. The peasant economy in the mountains

We have hitherto been analysing the historical backgound of the unequal development and capitalist expansion of the coast. Let us now look at the process which took place in the mountains, taking as an example the province of Chota, which, with its density of rural population at 85 inhabitants per square kilometre, is a purely rural area.

The double system of land distribution that has existed since the beginning of the century led to the establishment in Chota of an economic and social elite with its roots in big landownership and commerce. This fact is of particular importance as it brought about a gradual increase in trading activities which was to cause fundamental changes in the peasant economy.

This dominant sector was made up of hacienda owners who remained relatively independent of the coastal landowners. Nervertheless, the sector was not united, for internal dissensions existed between bands led by those landowners who thought they were best placed to control the local authorities. This fact, combined with other characteristics of the area, probably prevented any great concentrations of land in the hands of only a small number of people, and led to the establishment of a local property market, dealing generally with small peasant properties.

Of course, it would be wrong to speak of a free property market *stricto sensu* because of the factor of compulsion which incited people to buy or sell land. However, it does allow one to appreciate the area's peculiarities as regards the accumulation and circulation of the money which made such property transactions possible.

Another factor coming into play in the type of development experienced in Chota is the substantial flow of commercial exchange. Since before 1950 – when the Chiclayo-Chota road was built – there was lively trade in urban consumer articles coming in from the trading houses of Chiclayo and in livestock produce brought in from various districts of Chota.

Between 1950 and 1958, the upturn in the commercialization of rural agriculture coincided with a sharp drop in agricultural production. It was apparently under such circumstances that the predominant domestic economy turned away from self-consumption to commercialization. Around 1958 there was a further surge of provincial agricultural produce onto the regional market as a result of the modernization of the agricultural production techniques in large sectors of the countryside. One important effect of commercialization was the spread of Sunday

TABLE VII : *THE EVOLUTION OF THE POPULATION IN THE MICRO-REGION*

Year	Total population	Annual Growth Rate	Population on Coast	Annual Growth Rate	Population in Mountains	Annual Growth Rate
1900	34,437					
1940	200,630		105,464		94,984	
1961	321,876	2.8	207,513	4.6	114,363	0.9
1972	368,989	1.6	335,407	5.6	133,582	6.4
1980	413,176		394,639		118,537	

Source: Prepared from information from the National Censuses of 1940, 1961 and 1972 and projections of the Instituto Nacional de Estadística.

markets and regional fairs. However, as the conditions of trade were so unequal, this did not bring any of the hoped-for benefits – on the contrary, it led to even greater poverty in the local populations.

One last factor which tipped the scales permanently against the mountain economy was the *"enganche"* a migration system which virtually forced the rural-dwellers out of the western provinces of Cajamarca down towards the coast. (1)

Initially the arrangements whereby the rural-dwellers were "contacted" involved extending to them, through the intermediary of a contractor, a certain amount of cash (50 per cent of the total sum) and consumer products (the remaining 50 per cent). This loan was called "help" and was to be repaid in full in cash through fortnightly deductions out of the workers' salaries from the haciendas.

The rural dwellers were always eager to turn to this "help" for they saw it as an opportunity to buy land or farming implements (like a plough and its yoke) and in some cases to put by for any future problems, like rebuilding a house or illness in the family and so forth. In other words, initially at least, when the peasants agreed to become indebted by accepting "help", no non-economic or compulsive factors were necessarily involved in the decision.

However, once they had agreed to the "enganche" they become totally dependent on the contractor, and not on the hacienda owner, and were subjected to all sorts of snares and cunning so as to avoid or delay the punctual repayment of their debts. The outcome of this was economic and social expense far higher than foreseen – at times even the family plot or the peasants' lives were at stake. If we add to this the fact that money in the peasant economy boosted trade and that hacienda owners and "enganche" operators were in the local market together, thus encouraging another drain on capital, it will be appreciated how the peasant economy fell into decline and why migration – at first on a temporary basis and then permanently – became the only option left open to them.

IV. MIGRATION AND SOCIO-CULTURAL UNITY

The flow of labour from the mountains down to the coast brought with it, perforce, the cultural patterns of the mountainfolk, which then had to be readjusted to the new situation and the urban way of life.

1. The population explosion

So as to gain a proper insight into Peru's demography, two clear stages in this population growth on the coast need to be outlined. In the first, stretching from 1900 to the early sixties, it was totally dependent on economic development. It was sought to set up a labour market and thus bridge the gap between demand and supply of labour. In the second stage, which began in the early 1960s, the phenomenon was reversed : population growth was no longer dependent on, but rather conditioned by economic development, as it was taking place so rapidly that part of the population became "surplus" to the employment requirements determined by the productive system (see Table VII).

Up to 1940 there was a relatively balanced distribution of population between coast and mountain. Between 1940 and 1961 the rates of growth in the two sectors upset this balance. Total population reached 321,876 inhabitants. During this period, the rural-dwelling population opted for a new way of life by joining the work force in a more profitable economic circuit, with opportunities for easy access to education, the principal opening to social advancement which was so limited in their places of origin. This resulted in the settlement of the workforce *plus* a "reserve army" of workers, and population movements thus continued to be of use to the system.

Conversely, after 1961, the population explosion started to outstretch requirements of the coast's productive system considerably. The area's population grew at a much higher rate than it had done previously, increasing by 127,894 over just eleven years, an increase which was higher than that which had taken place previously over two decades.

---

(1) In Spanish, "enganche" means "hook". This system constitutes an "incitement" to migrate towards the coast through incentives given to the worker.

In the period between the 1961 and 1972 censuses, growth in the micro-region (which includes one coastal and one mountain province) does not at first sight appear particularly high, with an annual rate of just 1.5 per cent. Breaking down this figure by province, however, shows that the increase is due mainly to the figures for the coast, whose growth rate reached 5.6 per cent per annum; it also shows that the moderate growth rate for the micro-region is influenced by the depopulation of the mountain zone which returns a net negative 6.4 per cent annual rate.

In economic terms, this phenomenon is due to the fact that the development of capitalism as the basis of the regional economy entered a decisive phase of growth at the same time as a crisis emerged in traditional agriculture.

In demographic terms, the growth is directly related to migration to the coast and natality in the mountains. On the coast this was the result of immigrants' continuing high natality patterns, and in the mountains, the birth rate remained high because of the characteristics of the productive system, which confers an economic role on all members of the family, and so as to offset the drain of labour of an economically active age, all of which had moved down to the coast. This sustained rate of natural population growth took place, moreover, at a time when mortality was plunging by comparison with the foregoing decades, during which biological adaptation to the new habitat had cost the lives of so many migrants through endogenous diseases.

This net expansion, however, also had another effect. Once the labour force "reserve army" had been taken up, the new job-seekers became economically and physically marginalized, for, as they could not be absorbed into industry, they lived in situations of under-employment or unemployment. For example, in 1970, 42.1 per cent of immigrants in Chiclayo were under-employed, i.e. two thirds of the EAP. (1)

The imbalance between the population and the economy has continued to deteriorate to this very day, indicating that despite the agrarian reform and the current economic crisis the city continues to attract migrants from the countryside, giving rise to unemployment and new social difficulties.

In socio-economic terms, the phenomenal expansion of population reflects a fundamental transformation in the region : transition *en masse* from relatively self-sufficient peasantry to wage-earning status and the beginning of a process which converted the peasant population into a new working-class. In this process, three phases can be made out. Firstly, a period which spans approximately the first half of this century, during which the *"enganche"* system prevailed, as we saw above, the result of which was the creation of a floating population of peasants unable to repay their debts. These migrants were unsuccessful in their attempts to become permanently proletarianized or to return to their status as a poor peasant in their place of origin.

2. The process of proletarianization

Only once the accumulation of capital had brought about a great leap forward in technology did *"enganche"* and non-wage-earning forms of exploitation have to give way to the usual relations of capitalist employment. This transition came about earlier in some areas than in others, but by the mid-1950s it had been completed virtually everywhere.

Then came the second phase of the process, stretching from the aforementioned date to the end of the 1960s, at which point proletarianization had fully worked its way through. During this period, the *"enganchadores"* disappeared as middlemen because the post-war boom (1945) enabled the haciendas to stabilize their work force. Consequently the hacienda owners started to keep a close check on any periodical leave requested by the workers; they put them onto the payroll and granted them social security and other benefits, and at the same time the haciendas grew into small towns.

Under such conditions, the role of workers' associations became important. The hacienda owners' reticence to invest in the installation of water, electricity and other amenities such as schooling forced workers to demand them through trade-union organizations, and their action was decisive in establishing the conditions necessary for them to move their families in.

In the final phase of the process two phenomena with reverse effects occurred. For the first, settled workers on the haciendas were distinguished from the rest of the agricultural proletariat through the haciendas' specialization and the action of the trade-unions, and at the same time their number as a proportion of the total workforce declined. This elitist trend was later endorsed by the agrarian reform which converted them into the official proprietors by associating them in production co-operatives. The second phenomenon arose when the new demand for labour in industry began to be met with casual labour without even minimum employee status. This is how the vast majority of the agricultural proletariat became casual labourers. Once again, therefore, *"enganche"* appeared, although this time under the new name of "temporary contracts", and this only served to encourage migration and the rising up of slum quarters.

V. THE IMPACT OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM

The land redistribution process which took place in enforcement of the agrarian reform law enacted in 1969 under Decree Law Nº 17716 is a particularly important aspect of the regional context we are studying. Basically, the agrarian law meant the expropriation of the landowners and the organization of companies owned and run co-operatively under direct State control.

Economically speaking, the first five years after the reform were profitable for the beneficiaries who were

(1) CEMO, "Encuesta de propósitos múltiples", August 1970, quotedin Martínez H., *et al*, *El exodo rural en el Perú*, CEPD, Lima, 1973.

associated in the co-operatives – their salaries rose, they received a share of the profits, and they had employment security and more extensive social services and benefits. These measures were designed to alter the inhabitants' consumption patterns and bring them closer to urban types.

Ideologically, the law opened the way to greater participation in national political life, playing an important part in the mobilization of the population. Thus, it acted as a modernizing element in the political attitudes of the co-operatives workers and the public at large, an essential fact to bear in mind in relation to previous government policy.

However, the impact of the reform was most decisive in the social field, because it overturned the traditional order which had made the haciendas into small closed societies. Within this confined order, the former hacienda offered its workers the following basic amenities and services : a) the *bono*, a sort of food voucher, which consisted in paying part of the wage in foodstuffs. Once workers' families were settled on the estate, the *bono* came to be a paternalistic arrangement whereby food for families was "guaranteed", thereby "saving them" from the head of family's squandering on "vices" ; b) housing – initially, when only the men immigrated, they lived in "*canchones*", communal living quarters without airing or sanitaries, allocated in groups of eight. Later, on the arrival of the families, dwellings were built out of adobe and cane, with one sleeping area and a kitchen, all opening into one single corridor, which caused promiscuity and bickering among neighbours. As from 1962, trade union pressure led to the building of brick and stone dwellings with sanitary installations, but even today there are not enough of them, c) educational facilities, which before the 1960s were the sole and exclusive prerogative of the senior members of the workforce. Later, and again as a result of trade union demands, primary schools were set up on a free-of-charge, free-access basis.

However, it should be pointed out that the concession of these facilities always involved subtle arrangements of control and differential treatment by the estate managers, who granted them to those workers who displayed personal or political loyalty to them. This all stemmed from the employer's aim to strengthen his power, which affected even the most personal aspects of family life. Thus, the landlord was often to be found in the role of arbiter and mediator in domestic problems and intervened directly in the settlement of disagreements, going as far as to enforce the maximum penalty – permanent expulsion from the hacienda – to those involved.

The agrarian reform changed all this scheming. It did away with the isolation in which the worker lived by granting him more free time, introducing the mass media and improving all that involved public transport. It modified the forms of labour control, although it did maintain the working population's dependence on the co-operative through the payment of a wage. Social services in the health, housing and educational areas were improved. It should be pointed out that in this connection, one of the virtually immediate effects of the reform was an upturn in natality. This phenomenon was the reflection of a populist-oriented policy which, by providing co-operative associates with the basic facilities such as free maternity care and schooling, transferred the financial burden of having a greater number of children over to the co-operative. Lastly, the agrarian reform finally eradicated the landlord from his role in family relationships.

CHAPTER III

FAMILY STRUCTURE AND POPULATION SOCIALIZATION

I. INTRODUCTION

Having considered the general context of the micro-region, this chapter is given over to a description of population socialization patterns. The foregoing pages have highlighted the main structural factors governing the region's population, particuarly those affecting family structure. As the famly is the primary source of socialization, it is fitting to give a brief outline of its features and the way it affects this process.

To do so on the basis of the concepts detailed above, one must investigate the evolution of relations within the family structure and the way in which they are affected by other socialization agents outside the family such as formal education and the mass media.

From this standpoint, we shall seek to identify, characterize and assess how much these changes were influenced by important social phenomena such as migration, technological modernization, or agrarian and educational reforms. The underlying hypothesis is that these phenomena have caused a dynamic readjustment of the family's internal organization and its function as an agent of socialization. This readjustment has placed two outlooks face to face : one of rural, mountain origin, which for the purposes of this study shall be qualified as the "traditional" system, and the other of the urban capitalist type.

II. THE STRUCTURE OF THE FAMILY

1. Processes of change in the family structure

The population of Pucalá has been defined as working-class. However, this definition does not suffice *per se* to describe the features of a family pattern since specific phenomena within one and the same sector give rise to various types of family structure.

The changes in the family structure are closely related to the process of industrial development. This, as was already seen in a more general sense, went through three stages :

a) *enganche* (1900-1955), during which a number of changes took place due to the absence of the head of family ;

b) *modernization of the hacienda* (1956-1969), with the settlement of the migrant workers' families in Pucalá ; and

c) *agrarian reform and the establishment of co-operatives* (1970-1979), during which the relationships within the workers' families were reshaped and dislocated by the impact of the agrarian reform and the adverse economic and political situation in the country at large.

Changes in the rural family structure (1900-1955)

The characteristic feature of traditional rural-dwelling families in provinces such as Chota was that they not only made up productive entities which used the human and material resources at their disposal directly to satisfy family consumption needs, but also constituted units of socialization.

Thus, the role of the father and mother was determined largely by the division of labour between the sexes. The father gave over most of his time to farming, whilst the mother took care of the stock, the farmyard poultry, craftwork, the domestic chores and the upbringing of the children. Children took up agricultural work, stock-keeping, craftwork and housework at a relatively early age (4 to 5 years).

Around the age of 7 or 8, the father's influence and socializing role began to emerge over his sons, as did that of the mother over the daughters. The latter were trained in tasks considered to be those of the woman : cooking, washing, cleaning, watching over younger brothers and sisters, spinning and looking after the animals. The boys learnt to work in the fields, to cut up and load wood, carry water and look after the livestock. There were also a number of activities including harvesting, sewing, weeding, threshing the corn, and sheep-shearing in which all members of the family took part. Thus, the work of the children was a vital contribution to the domestic economy. This unity in the family workforce through the sexual division of labour formed the basis of the family unit.

In spite of the obvious influence of the father, the rural-dwelling mother had a certain bearing on decision-making, particularly over such things as the upbringing of the children during their early years, the rearing of the animals she looked after – which she considered as being hers – and organizing chores, the sale of produce or other business. Thus, in economic terms, the role of the woman was not merely a passive one. In certain cases, some of the means of production owned by the family (arable land, grazing land and live-stock) belonged to her through inheritance or dowry. These features differenciate the rural-dwelling woman qualitatively from the working-class woman who is totally without possessions and absolutely dependent on her husband's income.

Throughout the "enganche" period, fundamental changes took place, particularly in those homes whose fathers were absent, and this had an impact on socialization roles. During the absence of the father – for at least nine months of the year – the mother filled his place, coping alone with the problem of surviving and socializing her children.

One mother's statement is highly indicative in this respect ; it was recorded during the interview conducted with her : "From my earliest childhood I remember that my mother went through a great deal of suffering to bring us up. That was the way it was in the mountains. My father would come to see us every year and each time he would leave my mother pregnant again. He went off to work on the coast. My mother loaded wood ; did the washing, and worked in a breadshop or at any other work so as to be able to feed us. I suffered a great deal ; it was a very sad, wretched life..."

Consolidation and settlement of the migrant family (1956-1969)

During the modernization of the hacienda system, the companies encouraged the casual immigrant labourers to settle there permanently, thus uprooting rural-dwellers from their native land, compelled as they were to decide ultimately between settling with their families in Pucalá or staying in the mountains.

By opting for the former, the migrant family changed its structures. One of the most salient changes was the fact that the only source of income became the father's wage, and this modified the role the mother had filled in the traditional family.

In turn, this led to a change in the socialization of children. Daughters were only taught to carry out the lighter domestic chores and the sons were entrusted with lesser responsibilities such as fetching water, taking the fodder to the animals if the family owned a small farmyard, and so on.

The difference in economic function between the father and the mother brought about by the new situation had repercussions on the authority over, and demands made of, the children : whilst the girls were not allowed outside the home, the boys were free to do so.

Family relationships in the widest sense also declined in importance. They became a supplementary factor, designed to make good any shortcomings in living conditions provided by the co-operatives and build up a certain group spirit amongst immigrant workers from the same area (e.g. mutual help in building dwellings, hospitality for distant relatives, neighbourly relations, etc.).

The cultural context of the family began to change shape, but at this stage it still preserved its former ideological features, values, customs, beliefs and religious practices.

Reshaping and dislocation of family relations (1970-1979)

With the implementation of the agrarian reform and the transition from hacienda to co-operative, the basic traits of the family structure remained unchanged because there was no basic modification of their productive structure. However, alongside the changes which took place at the ideological and cultural level (greater educational opportunities, increased impact of the mass media, extension of political and social relations inside and outside the co-operative, etc.) and at the economic level (the great sugar industry crisis and subsequent troubles, the national political and economic crisis starting in 1976), the family structure of the workers was subjected to a series of influences which conditioned its later transformation. This was to be reflected in the division of labour, attitudes and knowledge handed down through the generations and in the whole area of parent-children relations, all of which went through a period of readjustment and, to a certain extent, dislocation.

Once the co-operatives had been set up, the workers had more means at their disposal with which to organize their demands for their children's education through the co-operative's unions and other bodies. The APC Rules and Regulations stipulate that all vacancies must first be offered through competitive examination to workers or their children, so that the worthiest may have the opportunity of moving up into senior positions. This encouraged workers to ensure their children had the best possible education and, therefore, professional qualifications, and they themselves were also prompted to endeavour to terminate their own primary education and in many cases to go on to the first years of secondary studies through night school. Access to primary and secondary education thus became generalized and totally indiscriminatory.

Education thus became not only a channel of integration into the capitalist economic system, but also an agent of transmission of values, information and knowledge that were different and contradictory to those taught to, and transmitted by parents (1), and this led young people to question the set of norms, values and attitudes taught at home, thus aggravating the conflict between the generations.

The economic repercussions were varied. Firstly, the change in status from worker to "associate" gave the empoyee more labour and financial stability and reinforced his role as "provider" for the family, as he was entitled to a whole range of new facilities and amenities which benefitted the whole family. These free services ranged from higher education facilities to coummunity recreation amenities, including such things as highly specialized medical services, a co-operative market and transport.

Secondly, as a result of the closed nature of the co-operative – new associates cannot join as they wish – the creation of new jobs was limited and this in turn led to youth unemployment. This fact put back the average age at marriage and increased the family expenses of associates or hired workers, obliged as they were to keep children of economically active age who at times even had their own families. Furthermore, the worsening economic crisis – the permanent inflation that, despite the social benefits to which the worker was entitled, caused a constant rise in the cost of living – brought about radical changes in viewpoints concerning the ideal size of a family. Traditional families wanted as many children as possible, whereas nowadays, both the large and smaller families seem to indicate an ideal maximum of three or four, as they realize that the cost of feeding and educating children is higher.

---

(1) It is important to bear in mind the general changes taking place with the Educational Reform which encourages students to analyze and question the system.

Another factor behind these changes is the disappearance of the hacienda owner as an arbiter, when called upon, in family life. This has in some cases led to a certain disintegration of the family structure reflected in the rise in the number of extra-marital relationships, persons abandoning their homes and domestic quarrels. One indication of the spread in extra-marital relationships in Pucalá is to be found in the number of divorce suits lodged with the Magistrate of the First Instance in Pucalá.

2. Relations within the family

As has been seen above, today's working-class families are experiencing a number of upheavals in conjugal relations which are having repercussions on parents' relations with their children, and this is diminishing the family's cohesion and its right to claim that it is a positive factor in the socialization process.

Conjugal relations

Like all family and societal relations in the working-class of Pucalá, conjugal relations are governed by a series of general outlooks on the world and on life which, at the ideological level, endorse a set of attitudes such as the supposed inferiority of the woman with regard to man, the inherent authority of the male species and the exaltation of virility, all of which traits go to make up an overall attitude of "machismo" – an attitude of male-chauvinism.

Amongst workers this machismo is growing, and is in many aspects different to the traditional rural-dwelling outlook(1). New symbols of prestige are being created, such as having two or more wives, in addition to which there is an alcohol problem, which in its various degrees involves practically all the workers in Pucalá, and is having serious domestic consequences. The "machismo" outlook treats marriage as a stable way of satisfying sexual needs, having someone to look after and settle domestic problems (food, clothing, etc.), to care for material property, build up a large family and in addition to act as prestige and security for the husband.

For their part, the women accept a passive role of subordination to the husband in the economic field, and recognize his full authority in the home. Also noted are a whole range of emotional aspirations for protection and security.

The cultural factors which endow the male with a dominant role in conjugal relations are the source of frustrations, arguments and often a total communication breakdown, which have an impact on the socialization of the children.

Relations with the children

The emotional relations between parents and children are characterized by as much instability as arises in so many aspects of the lives of the inhabitants of Pucalá. In general, the young fathers reproduce the behaviour of their own fathers, as can be appreciated in the number of cases where the workers' mothers were abandoned, obliging them to work on the hacienda as early as 11 years old and endure much suffering. Despite this, they are in the habit of mistreating their wives, being unfaithful to them and even of throwing their children out of home.

The climate of instability, the frustrations of the wives in such cases, and the general resentment felt at the sight of their parents' conflicts place a gap between the children and their parents and affect their developing personality, as well as causing deviant behaviours, involving narcotics and pre-marital sexual relations, for which the children render their parents responsible.

In this area, the interview given below, conducted with an adolescent girl, gives us an indication, albeit somewhat extreme, of the extent of the problem.

"At the school fête in the fourth year, there was a girl from Lima who'd been studying with us from the 2nd year of secondary school onwards. The girl was a bit flighty and was always larking about. I told her she was a bit crazy. In the third year I was put into the boys' class and there I got to know her – we were put at the same desk – she would talk in a non-sensical way about things which didn't follow. Something told me she was in trouble – her behaviour wasn't natural – there was something in her which was tormenting her and that was why she was behaving like that. I asked her "Why are you like that ?" and she answered "I have problems – I want to forget and when I behave like this I forget". Then she would laugh in an uproarious way, but would never tell me about her problems. In the 4th year we were moved desks. In October, I met her at the school fête with a cigarette in her hand – I didn't know, I never imagined what it was. I *did* know that she was going around with a few boys but not that she'd gone as far as to take drugs. "Throw that away" I said to her, and she said "You must be mad". A friend came up, a real roughian like her, and she asked her if she wanted a puff and said "Oh ! I feel all funny". "I'm going to the bathroom", Ana said, she was all light-headed – I don't know whether my friend went with her – I stayed in the sitting room. Shortly afterwards my friend came back and said to me "Did you know that Ana was taking drugs ? The cigarette's got cocaine in it – go and take it away from her". I went off and found her dancing in the bathroom. I said to her "What's the matter ?" and she answered "What's it to do with you ?" and laughed. "Get out" she said, and pushed me away with a laugh. Later we went back to the classroom and after a while she felt better, a bit sad and depressed, but better. I asked her "What's the matter ?". "Nothing" she said "it's just the drug in the cigarette, but don't tell anyone" "But why do you do it ?" I asked, and with tears in her eyes she said "I don't know" and came over all sad and pained. She said "I'm trying to be happy through drugs - to forget all my problems", and she started telling me her life story - not all of it - just what caused her the most sorrow. She said her parents didn't get on very well, they were always arguing and once she was hit for defending her mother - her father pushed her over and she fell down and banged her head. She fell unconscious and they had to take her to hospital. She said she could never forget that blow she was given, and that was why she never wrote to her father - she preferred to forget him - and as for him, he would never ask to see her until he was on his death bed. All this upset her terribly.

---

(1) In the rural-dwelling population of Chota violent methods are used to control marital unfaithfulness, to prevent any extension or generalization of such practices (open physical aggression of those involved).

She cried, and then I started to tell her why, if she found that I was sullen and uncommunicative, it was because my parents didn't get on well either. "There are problems in my home too", I said, "there are arguments, just as there are in every home - don't go thinking that there are only quarrels in your home". "If you could only see what I was going through" she replied "I don't know, I'm trying to escape from it".

Thus, family structure is creating conditions whereby parental influence over children is losing the decisive bearing it had in the past as a result of a number of external factors, under whose effects the structure has weakened.

III. THE SOCIALIZATION PROCESS

In the context described above, the socialization process of young people is determined by two factors. First are the characteristics and limitations of the family structure. Secondly, there are agents which distort and render conflictual the relations between members of the family, creating a generation gap and contradictions about the expectations, values and behaviour of the younger generations towards the forms handed down by the generation immediately above. As we saw above, these are : the influence of formal education, friends, contacts with the town and the mass media - which even challenge parents' ability to guide and control the behaviour of their children.

1. Socialization in the family

The effectiveness of the socialization process depends upon the degree of communication, the level of emotional interaction and the impact of socializing agents. It is therefore necessary to establish the main features of affective relations and communication in the working-class family.

As far as the care of the child during his early years is concerned, the custom of carrying him on the shoulder has been abandoned even by mothers of mountain origin. Unlike the father, the mother remains at home with the children almost all day long. When she is at home she usually hangs up a hammock and places the child there all day, only taking him in her arms to change him or when he cries. With the spread of bottle-feeding, breastmilk is only used as an additional source. This is the only stage at which the child is given affectionate treatment.

During infancy, a lack of affection is to be noted. Mother's care is confined to looking after the child's physiological needs and does not involve stimulating, watching or helping the child's psycho-motor development. This situation imposes limitations on the initial socialization given to children as the lack of communication and affection indicated above reduce its effectiveness.

Because of parents' expectations about the formal education of their children, they make fewer demands in respect of domestic chores and prefer to leave them more time to study.

2. Socialization outside the family

The school

Most of the associate and hired employees in the settlements under study (1) only have an incomplete primary education, a fact which can be put down to the lack of educational facilities in immigrant workers' places of origin and on the hacienda itself during the period of modernization ; the establishment of the primary school dates back no earlier than 1962. Furthermore, many of today's workers had to start work at an early age, at least during particular seasons, because of the lack of money in the family budget.

The agrarian reform brought with it a considerable expansion of the educational facilities provided for the children of the associate workers, thus satisfying their educational expectations, as they saw in education a gateway to social promotion. Another factor encouraging greater school enrolment and attendance was the job stability and minimum wages offered by the co-operative system to the associates and the other permanent workers, making it unnecesssary for the children to work. Although there was the occasional instance of parents' being unable to meet the full cost of educating some of their children, the underlying tendency is generalized schooling for both sexes. In the period leading up to the agrarian reform, there were certain prejudices on the haciendas about girls attending school, for it was feared that they would thus slip from the tight grip of parental control. It was also inconceivable for a woman to acquire professional training. Schooling was seen as worthless to a woman whose lot, under traditional views, was a purely domestic one. Only with the spread of the mass media and the gradual adoption of urban living patterns was this attitude overturned and it became accepted that women could carry out other types of work, thus indirectly acknowledging that they had their own social promotion opportunities and were not necessarily dependant on their husbands.

Another significant change over recent years is the age at which children start attending school. Previously this was situated between the ages of 8 and 12, whereas nowadays it ranges from 4 to 6 ; furthermore, it was commonplace for the child not to complete primary schooling, whereas in present times, the aim is to terminate secondary school with a view to going on to higher studies or professional training.

---

(1) Padrón de Trabajadores, 1976. In these terms the sample is biased, with too much exphasis on the higher education levels. Despite this, the generation gap in this respect remains unchanged.

The school now has to deal with a much more decisive and lengthy period in the overall socialization of children and young people in Pucalá. Formely, primary school consisted merely of five years of study, the only outlet from which was agricultural labour. Now, for the child, school means the opportunity of mixing more closely with other children of the same age, coming into contact with a normative system which is different from that of his family, and becoming informed of the more complex aspects of life, implying integration into a more developed urban context. From this point of view formal education has a decisive impact and also creates new expectations that can be met through education.

The street environment

As a medium of informal socialization, in the case of the young boys, the street is almost as important as the school, as young boys and adolescents use it from an early age as a meeting-place during the best part of the day ; to such an extent that in interviews with adolescents of both sexes, most acknowledged that they obtained more information from their boy and girl friends about their problems in general and about sexual behaviour in particular than they did from their own parents.

The mass media

The mass media have had a significant impact on the behaviour of young people, who have adopted new patterns, values and attitudes evidenced in changes of behaviour by comparison with foregoing generations. These changes are reflected in parent-child relationships and in relationships between the sexes, and also in deviant behaviours such as delinquency or drug-taking, the causes of which lie partly in the high rate of unemployment but are also encouraged by sensationalist films on television.

However, the influence of the mass media is much more subtle and far-reaching : it moulds a subconscious model of behaviours and expectations frequently involving long-term aspirations such as marriage, profession or aspired-for living conditions and, in general, these leave their mark on the daily behaviour of young people in all its various aspects. This widens still futher the gap between the habits of the younger generations and those of their parents, cuts down communication and increases conflicts as a result both of the children's questioning of their parents' customs, models and values and of the parents' inability to meet the new consumption needs generated by the influence of the mass media.

The parish

The Catholic Church was used under the hacienda organization as a system for maintaining the established relations of power and exploitation on which the productive apparatus relied.

This was of particular significance in the settlement of conflicts between husband and wife and also in premarital behaviour, in that the parish and the landlord acted as mechanisms of control so as to avoid any conflicts and display their position of total authority.

When the hacienda was replaced by the co-operative and the function of the Catholic Church was altered, especially according to the new Council's guidelines, the parish modified its role in the locality, particularly concerning the younger generations. Its socializing function came more to the fore, on the basis of a reassessment of the traditional divisions between the sexes ; the woman's role as the motor behind her own material achievement and not merely as the object of sexual satisfaction was stressed, although in a limited way, in view of her dependence on her husband. At the same time, a change took place in the men's outlook ; they began to call into question the historic relations that had caused them to be placed in a position whereby they could organize those relations on an unequal basis. Thus, the parish, despite its limited outreach, altered its teachings and, although maintaining its former role as socializer, began to send out a new message.

3. Conflicts between the various agents of socialization

As we have seen above, the role of the family in the socialization of children has been tending to diminish, and children have been questioning the social and cultural frames of reference of that process. Socially, the situation has arisen as a result of the low level of instruction of parents (often illiterate and mostly without complete primary education), and their low status within the co-operative in particular and in local and regional society as a whole, i.e. through their material inability to satisfy their children's aspirations and the new consumption needs stimulated by the mass media and other factors. Thus, parents' authority and scope in the transmission of values, behavioural choices and supervision of their children was undermined. Culturally speaking, the "traditional" values – of rural, mountain origin – generally maintained by the parents were challenged and contrasted with the new values that had been acquired.

This is why there was a virtual severing of the ties between the generations which disrupted the population's social unity, a factor which is at the basis of any understanding of the current norms of population socialization.

IV. POPULATION SOCIALIZATION

In the specific field of population-related subjects, over and above the general process of socialization described above, particular forms of education, knowledge and attitude with regard to sexual and demographic problems exist in Pucalá which need to be pointed out.

1. In the family

In the first place, it should be reiterated that the expression "the woman in the home and the man out in the street" is widely endorsed. Stemming from this attitude are a whole set of situations ranging from the particular value placed on man as an economic agent and biological reproducer to the established frame for sexual relations, and involving sexual practices and population behaviour.

This has actually led to the institution of principles and norms whereby the man requires conjugal faithfulness of his wife without his being bound by any equivalent duty ; virginity is set up as an absolute rule for marriage, although for the man to have had relations with young virgins is considered to be a symbol of prestige ; sexual relationships for young unmarried girls are forbidden, whereas an early sexual initiation for the male is encouraged ; it is considered that a man should provide and care for those children had in, but not outside marriage.

Nevertheless, present-day generations are adopting new outlooks about marriage and the emotional ties between husband and wife. That is to say, certain concepts, such as the ideal number of children, sexual behaviour, and the socialization of the family in all aspects, are being looked at from a new angle.

2. At school

Within the guidelines set out by the educational reform (in force since 1974) matters concerning the anatomy and physiology of the human body, particularly the reproductive organs of man and woman, are subjects dealt with nowadays in the first year of secondary school in Anatomy and Biology classes. The approach depends to a large extent on the way the syllabi are implemented by the directives and individual adjustments made at area School Nuclei level and in each school. Actual instruction varies according to the qualification of the teacher and his or her interest in the subject

As a result, adolescents are taught differently about the anatomy and physiology of the reproductive parts of man and woman. The subject is sometimes dealt with in an informal manner as part of the activities and guidance courses of the "Basic Guidance for the Student" scheme.

Teachers' lack of training leads to marginal treatment in the syllabus of socialization in areas relating to sexuality and population. In this case, the advantage is that it is dealt with in a climate of greater confidence and security than would be possible in the classroom. Despite the differences mentioned above, most of the adolescents interviewed believe that the school is the institution which offers the greatest opportunities for systematic treatment of subjects related to the anatomy and physiology of human sexuality.

3. With friends

The socialization process for the woman is mainly undertaken in the home ; during the pre-school period, contacts outside the family are limited. This attitude is in direct contrast to that adopted with regard to the young boy who has to learn to develop and assume behaviours appropriate to his sex through play and other street experiences.

As such, the process of street socialization is prolonged, highly dynamic and in the population socialization area, very important, as a great deal of information and experience is exchanged about physiology and sexuality among the peer group.

In this type of socialization, language is especially important as a coded message in which gesture and the spoken word are inseparable, and it varies according to external fashions and influences.

The stage of discovery during which most is learnt on sexual matters takes place between the ages of 10 and 12 years, when the young boys approach groups of adolescents, thus enabling them to observe and take in certain aspects of sexual life.

The main feature of the following stage is more direct involvement with sex, including masturbation and sexual practices with small animals. This stage is experienced between the ages of 12 and 14 years. During this period, there is more contact between the young and older adolescents. Moreover, in the family, it is considered, particularly by the father, that this is the time when the young boy should be having the experiences which will enable him to adopt a behaviour befitting his sex.

Around the age of fifteen, young boys go through their sexual initiation. In the process of physiological changes which takes place at that time, the adolescent boys find that it is the appearance of pubic hair which basically determines the timing of the boy's sexual initiation, which consists, under arrangements made by the peer group, of visits to the "cañeras" (illegal prostitutes working in the sugar plantations) or the brothels of Chiclayo.

During this stage, the father tacitly allows his son to have sexual relations by providing him with some money for such purposes. The frequency of such relations varies according to the financial resources available to the adolescent.

Nowadays, the population socialization process is of greatest importance in the period between the ages of 18 and 20 years, when young men and women are beginning to take on the emotional responsibilities involved in forming a couple, and this forces them to modify part of their system of values and outlooks in respect of their sexual activities.

It should be pointed out that as a result of the coeducation process, adolescent girls are now in a better position to observe and exchange information with the boys about physiological and sexual matters, which in the past was a matter of strict parental control. These subjects, although always limited to groups, are today part of the interchange set up between adolescents of both sexes through the school and other institutions.

4. Through the mass media

With the information they are receiving through the mass media, the younger generations are indiscriminately adopting behaviours more appropriate to other contexts and social classes ; what is more, the lack of any film censorship has led to the diffusion of films, without any age limits, containing information and values that are foreign to the social context of the region, particularly important amongst which are films containing erotic scenes.

One of the effects of this new influence is that many family control mechanisms and systems of restrictions between couples are tending to disappear, leading to a spread in the habit of caressing and kissing in public between couples of lovers and adolescents. This sort of display was very limited in the past, and was kept to very intimate circumstances. Today it has become more widespread, despite the fact that parents do still exercise some control over it.

88

CHAPTER IV

CHANGES IN THE PROCESS OF POPULATION SOCIALIZATION

I. INTRODUCTION

In the previous two chapters we have analyzed the main determining factors of the population problem and the features of its evolution, together with the family structure and the socialization process in Pucalá, on the basis of an historical and anthropological examination of these phenomena. In the present chapter we take a new look at these subjects "from within", through the attitudes of the people themselves and their personal experiences.

The main aim is to ascertain whether there are indeed two parallel concepts of family organization, demographic processes and sexualitiy between adults and young people as a result of the break between the generations which the above analysis highlighted in Pucalá, a break which is attributed to a socialization process that has been coloured by the migrant and proletarian nature of its population and by the socio-cultural and family imbalances that have been experienced in the recent past.

On the basis of these proposals and the preliminary results of the CAPAPE inquiry, we make an examination of adults' viewpoints about socialization experiences and their awareness of the changes that have been occurring, and compare them with adolescents' expectations and views of the population socialization process.

In this way, the autobiographical and semi-directive interviews conducted in the area of study enabled us to reconstruct the life cycle of its inhabitants and establish its relations with population-related issues.

II. PERSONAL EXPERIENCE AND AWARENESS OF CHANGE

Two autobiographical interviews, one with a mother from Chota and the other with a mother from the coastal area, on the subject of their childhood, clearly highlight the differences in the initial socialization process. The mother from Chota says :

"Well, the first few years of my life were very sad, because my father was a labourer on the coast and only came home once in a while. So my mother had to go out to look for some way to earn some money to keep us. There were eight of us : for the first year we were put in the hammock and she would carry us around to breast-feed us, change us and look after us when we were ill. By the time I was one, my mother stopped breast-feeding me and I was able to walk. By the age of three and a half she had already given us jobs to do around the house : fetching wood, looking after the animals, sweeping, carrying water, watching the chickens. By five I was washing a few small things, helping to pick the vegetables, grinding peppers, looking after the cooking and the younger children, so we were always doing something. At ten we could do everything ; cooking, washing, looking after the little ones, running errands, we already knew how to sew, and sometimes worked by night. My mother hardly looked after us at all. She went out to work more. She treated us more strictly, and we didn't get much softness and affection from her".

It should be pointed out that in this statement are indications that young girls carried out productive tasks from a very early age along the lines of the traditional rural-dwelling economy. Let us compare this with the statement made by the mother from the coast, despite the fact that her parents were migrants from the mountains.

"When I was young, my father worked here on the hacienda on a regular basis. We all lived off his wage, and he didn't have a smallholding or any other occupation. My mother just looked after the home, the children and the chores around the house. At the age of eight I started school. Of course, I was made to help in such minor tasks as sweeping, washing a few small things, but that was all. As my mother was always at home, I was with her constantly from my earliest childhood when she carried me around on her shoulder ; From the age of three we were a bit more independent, but we were always in the home near her. By three to four years she had us help her sort out the rice grains and the vegetables, for example. When I was eight I had to wash the clothes and the toilet. By the age of 11 or 12 I'd learnt to do a bit of sewing, and I could help her that way too. I was weaned at the age of three, because my mother was expecting my other brother. My mother was very affectionate towards us. Until we were about seven she would caress us, but when we were eight that stopped. Until were 14 we were looked upon as children, and by the time I was 17 I was married, let's say that we were already women".

There is a clear difference between the emotional life portrayed here and in the previous case, and this is a direct outcome of the economic role of the mother within the family structure. Also to be noted is the fact that the second mother makes fewer demands on her children concerning domestic chores, although she *is* of mountain origin and has preserved traditional education. One revealing fact is the schooling, which only the girl from the coast was able to have. However, one feature common to them both is the relative absence of the father in the socialization process of young girls, and, accordingly, the prominent role of the mother.

The fathers, almost all of whom came from Chota, had memories of a socialization process that was very similar to the mothers'. With a few small variations, weaning took place within the same period, as did the habit of carrying the child on the shoulder whilst working in the fields and during the mothers's outings from the home and the early initiation into productive and domestic work ; a sexual distinction in such activities was made by the time the children were eight, when they were made responsible for set tasks and reference was made to corporal punishment as a disciplinary measure.

One radical difference between the socialization of fathers and that of mothers was the former's early involvement with paid work on the hacienda.

"......Through necessity I left Iraca at the age of twelve because I had to earn some money to help my father pay back a debt he had with an *enganchador*..... In 1948 I first arrived here. We travelled a whole day from Iraca to Huambos with haversacks on our backs and the cold meat my mother had prepared for us for the journey. An uncle of ours came with us. From Huambos we took a lorry which brought us down here in thirteen hours. When we arrived we went to live in a canchón in Cajamarca Street with eight other fellows. We hadn't been there long when my father managed to get work for both himself and my uncle. My father took a present to the boss – a chicken and some cheeses – so that he would find some work for me, and would think well of us. When I started working I was a cane gatherer ; we would get up at four in the morning and breakfast; my work consisted in gathering the cane which had fallen or been scattered around in the section they had been cutting. Other boys worked as roadmen to gather up the cane which fell off the convoy of carts. The following year we gave the boss a cheese and when I was thirteen I started working on the carts. It was dreadful. I was thirteen and doing the work of a grown–up man, which called for a lot of brute force and my father used to have to come and help me finish off the job. My father was also working in that section, but he was up ahead with the first grup of cane loaders – I was in with the back groups – where the new ones were put. Until I was fourteen I used to manage two carts and my father would help me to do the third. Our job was to load up six carts – two each (the jobs were shared between two people) and then for the last two carts it was between the two of us, in a sort of "play-off" as they called it in those times. My father would come to help me load up the third because I didn't have enough strength to finish the whole job. By the time I was fifteen though, I started doing the whole job by myself".

The wretched material circumstances and the lack of amusements or recreational activities caused alcohol to become the most common medium of escape, a fact which explains to a large extent the widespread drinking problem. Furthermore, the heavy demands made on the labour force on the hacienda, especially the cane-cutters, were the cause of the persistence amongst some workers of the mountain custom of taking stimulants such as coca.

Lastly, we should point out that having economic responsibilities at an early age and carrying out physically exhausting work which was beyond their own strength, created profound emotional disturbances in the adolescents which were reflected later in marital and family problems in which behavioural patterns acquired in this working environment came back to the surface.

1. Awareness of change in the practices and stages of children's socialization

Here, both fathers and mothers were at one in acknowledging that important changes had occured, particularly in connection with their own behaviour towards their children, as a result not only of the various new demands made on them by their changed environment but also of the re-shaping of parent-children relationships due to the *children's* new demands.

The changes, seen from the mothers' point of view, are based on their own socialization experiences :

"It's different now. As there's no vegetable garden, we live off my husband's wage alone. So we can give up more of our time to our children. I was afraid to leave them alone all the time. Now they've grown up and they've just started to learn how to cook. In the past if you didn't do what you were told to do you were beaten – not now. We, the elder children, worked much harder – now for our children it's different – they tend to study more......" (interview with a mother).

These changes have resulted in parents' seeking new conditions in which to bring up their children in keeping with expectations for the future and the general desire to spare them the shortages and suffering that they experienced in their own childhood. In this connection, the following was often heard during the course of the interviews :

".... We spoil the children a lot, because we want them to be brought up differently to the way we were, so that they can move up in the world...."

Also to be noted is a big change in the demands made on children concerning domestic chores, both during the learning phase and when responsibilities are taken on :

"Obviously I sometimes ask them to sweep the floor ; that is, when they want to – I don't order them to. I prefer them to study, that I do !"

It is also acknowledged that there have been changes in the behaviour of young people, and parental strictness in dealing with them has waned :

"Another thing is that now the children don't like doing anything... by the time I was eleven I was cooking, and doing everything. Now they want their mother to do everything for them.... nowadays it's different with the children, of course, and sometimes it hurts me (to make them work).... in the past we were beaten when we didn't do what we were told, now it's not the same.... before, everything was very strict, we were brutalized into working. I wouldn't dream of treating my children like that, not like I was treated......"

Most of the fathers also see changes in the socialization of their children by comparison with their own experiences and they stress children's new participation in family life, joining in conversations, taking initiatives, giving advice, and they state that nowadays children show more character, a more individual sense of judgement and greater independence from an early age, unlike their own early childhood experiences.

The fathers see these changes as part of the decline in parental authority over the children (corporal punishment has virtually disappeared) and also as part of the split between the two generations. These fathers feel that they have been overtaken by their children, who have more knowledge and greater access to urban culture, and they consequently feel left out.

"In the past, a child was more reserved, more apprehensive. Now they're not – the mind is more developed – children are livelier. As a general rule the children of today are more intelligent and they develop more quickly."

"Things have changed a lot. There's less obedience. Children don't care any more, they smoke cigarettes. It's education that's done it, not just home education but what they're taught at school. The teachers, who are their second parents, are nor respected. The fathers don't punish and the mothers approve." "Before, obedience to one's parents was unquestioning and ensured by physical punishment. Many parents even authorized the village head to punish their children." "In Chota, the way of life has changed. Before, children were innocent – now they're not. Things have changed in Pucalá too. The children have more amusement, they go to the cinema, they amuse themselves, and they don't work any more. By the age of eight or ten, the kids are more alert – they have radios these days, and listen to the news. The changes have spread up into the mountains, even high up... The changes are more suited to the actual situation in which we live. Before, people were more humble, more tranquil. Now they even discuss politics – before they didn't even know who was in power. When I came down to the coast recently I found out that Manuel Prado was President" (from interviews with fathers).

2. Different socialization depending on the sex of the child

All these changes have shaped a new process of socialization, but this has come about in an unequal way, depending on the child's sex. This fact is particularly evident in connection with the acceptance of greater liberality in relations, an attitude which, when added to other facts pointed out previously such as the loss of family discipline, gives an idea of the extent of the disagreement between parents and children. Although many mothers outwardly said that there was no difference between the socialization of their children according to their sex, their answers point to the contrary, which leads one to suspect that they are not consciously aware of making any distinctions.

"I bring up my children exactly the same way, boy or girl. I tell the boys to take the fodder for the animals too; before, they used to help me sell "marcianos" (1) and carry water. The girls are told to wash, iron, cook, go to the market – like a proper woman. I expect more from the education of my sons, I hope they'll have a better life, and will help me when I'm older to see me through. Because a girl, even if you make her study, is sometimes a bit thick-skulled – a man isn't....." (wife of a cane-cutter, born in Chota, who came to Pucalá at the age of 16 with her father who was an *enganchado* working on the hacienda.

Except in the cases of mothers who did not reply, because they only had daughters, only one woman did *not* mention a series of different criteria involved in the up-bringing and education she gave to her children, depending on their sex.

The majority of fathers interviewed, 15 out of the total number of 19, showed that a certain distinction *was* made in the socialization of their children and they believed this was right. Only two stated that in their family no such differences were made (and two fathers did not give an opinion on the subject). The differences stem from the division of labour-domestic chores for the girls; minding the animals, gathering the products of the *"bono"* and manual services and tasks for the boys.

This can also be appreciated when considering fathers' expectations about their daughters' future: they hope that there will be an early marriage, thus implying that any opportunities for professional training are excluded. Conversely they hoped that their sons will learn a trade or go into a career enabling them to have better material and cultural life, the benefits of which should rebound into the family. They consider that this would not happen with their married daughters, who would be dependent on their husbands and have no way of supporting or protecting their parents in their old age.

However, it should be added that this standpoint about daughters' prospects has not prevented the emergence of a general consensus among fathers about the advantages of educating women:

"In the past, girls weren't sent to school because it wasn't thought necessary and it was believed that if they did, all they'd do would be to write love notes to their boyfriends – this was because they didn't know better – they hadn't been made aware of the value of an education for women." "Now we're more egalitarian about educating boys and girls – before, only the boys were sent to school and all the girls were taught to do was sign their own name, because that was useful in the home – that was the idea in the mountain people. Nowadays, education is equal for both sexes."

One even stated: "Women should be taught when they are young about sexuality and politics, and this has never been done before". However, despite this, the absolute majority still agree, as in the past, that "man's place is and always will be in the street and women must be taught in accordance with their duties".

(1) A home-made ice lollipop.

III. THE GENERATION GAP

The key factor in the changes experienced is without any doubt the school. New models of behaviour and values are established within it which together are creating a gap between today's younger generations and their parents. The paradox in this is that the parents, spurred on by hopes of social improvement, are the ones who encourage their children's education and, with it, widen the gap between them. The outcome is a communication barrier between parents and children in many aspects, the effects of which spill over into other areas of family life.

1. Expectations in the school

One element which stands out immediately from the global set of responses, in respect of the importance of the school, is its total acceptance in the community, reflected in the high enrolment ratio for the children and the constant desire noticeable in the community and the co-operative to satisfy minimal educational requirements.

The majority of fathers rightly see the school as the key to their children's future, in that it provides them with the qualifications with which to find better jobs. They view it as a gateway to a better life – an opportunity which they never had.

"The school is the key to their future ; I believe that without it they'll always be the same person, and never become educated. And that's the only way they'll be able to instruct themselves afterwards." "The school will help them move up in the world and build a decent future for themselves : the more they study, the better the job they'll get". "I want my children to have an education and a future – it's important for them to have an education first and then a profession. With a trade but no profession you don't get anywhere. With diplomas a man automatically becomes a technician, a professional. It's important that they should have a full secondary education ; that way they'll be respected".

Despite the fact that most of the fathers interviewed were in favour of their children receiving a full secondary, and if possible, higher education, as a result of the expectations to which the educational reform has given rise these have not been satisfied, leading in the end to widespread frustrations among mothers and fathers about the teaching methods introduced by that Reform. They were not questioning the contents of the education but the way in which it was taught by comparison with traditional education.

"All I see is that they're gradually being taught less and less. Nowadays, at least in the primary school, some of the children in third grade can't even read, whereas previously, children could read before they went into first grade, because their fathers sent them to nursery school..... When children reach seventh grade they don't even know how to do their times tables. Before, children in the first grade knew their tables by heart and beware whoever didn't." "Education isn't like it was before ; these days they don't explain anything to them, they send them home with things to do that they don't even understand, and what are we supposed to say to them ? Then they fail them. It's not always the kid's fault – nowadays they don't explain things until they're understood like they used to..." "As for education, the teachers were stricter before, and the pupil learnt better. Now they don't punish them, because parents are sometimes taken to the police station for beating their children. Sometimes they're tough. I think they should be beaten".

Adolescent boys' answers relating to the role of the parents in their schooling bear up the statements made by the parents earlier about their expectations. Of the boys, 34 per cent said it was the father who dealt with their schooling ; 28 per cent that both parents did, and the same percentage concerned themselves personally with their education. In ten per cent of cases, relatives took care of it (brothers, uncles). In no case was it stated that the mother alone had the responsibility for their education. This is partly to be explained by the greater level of instruction among fathers compared with mothers, and by the sexual divisions which stress the role of the father as superviser of the male children.

As far as the girls are concerned, 25 per cent stated that the father was the one who looked after their schooling, 25 per cent said the mother did, and 8.50 per cent declared that both parents were responsible for it. Involvement by other family members was mentioned in 16.50 per cent of cases, whereas 25 per cent stated that their schooling was their own responsibility.

Adolescent informants agreed that the most important ways in which parents and relatives encouraged the adolescent boys to get a schooling included obvious support and encouragement (28.57 per cent) and persuasion (21.42 per cent), with advice being given to make them more aware of the value of an education. Supervision of activities at school was singled out in approximately 27 per cent of cases, particularly by those adolescents who showed most irregular school performances. Considered as being systems of supervision were : revising exercise books, giving them work examinations, and so forth.

"My parents were always taking care of me – they were very strict about my going to school. They gave us work to do and marked our exercise books... when they saw that we were dropping behind in our work, we were in for a beating." (interview with a 18 years old boy, 5th grade of secondary).

For others (21.42 per cent) this supervision was their own responsibility. They stated that their parents had impressed upon them the fact that education was "for their own good" and accordingly considered that it was also "their own responsibility" whether they studied properly or not. Very few of them (7.14 per cent) were of the opinion that they had received no encouragement or support from their parents whatsoever. Another small percentage (7.14 per cent) stated that they had only been given material support, with no concern being shown about the results.

Amongst the girls, support and encouragement from parents is given in 41.17 per cent of cases and "own responsability" in 23.53 per cent.

"My father took care of my studies. He gave us advice and told my mother not to give us too much to do around the house. He was sure that we were going to study, so we had to live up to his confidence" (interview with a teenage girl, 15 years, 4th grade of secondary).

In 11.76 per cent of interviews with adolescent girls, persuasion was mentioned, stressing that it was generally the mothers who exercised it. 17.64 per cent had been given no encouragement or support by their parents at all, and a comparable percentage indicated that they were only given material support in the pursuit of their studies. No interviewee mentioned that her parents had checked or marked her school work.

As regards the importance attached by parents to school results, approximately 54 per cent of the teenage boys interviewed believed that their parents *did* attach importance to getting good qualifications and 27. said they *did not* ; within this latter group most stated that their parents were concerned mainly with how much effort they put into learning. In respect of this last group, 63. per cent declared that their parents placed particular importance on good performances, only 54. per cent stating that their parents wanted their children to obtain a diploma.

In the case of teenage girls, 63 per cent believed that their parents did attach importance to learning, but only 50 per cent stated that their parents attached importance to good results. Twenty-five per cent stated that their parents declared they would be happy if they managed to obtain a diploma in recognition of their studies.

In both sexes, the importance placed on school results is more pronounced with mothers :

"Yes, my parents do encourage me to get a good report.... my mother wants somebody to get a diploma, but my father doesn't place much importance on that because he says that diplomas don't get you anywhere. My mother thinks that when you get a diploma you become someone, but my father thinks differently. My mother would only rest happy once we had our diplomas, but she doesn't think we'll be any more successful with them. I personally don't think diplomas are essential" (interview with a teenage girl).

2. Acquiring a profession

Young people on the whole see the school as a gateway to better education, employment and income opportunities. Fifty per cent of male adolescents stated that the school would allow them to go on to university studies in order to learn a profession ; 25 per cent said that it would allow them to "progress" and the other 25 per cent that it would help them to "be someone in life". As for the adolescent girls, 23 per cent declared that school would enable them to have a profession, 40 per cent that with schooling they would feel useful and it would help them progess in life. Another 15.6 per cent stated that school studies would allow them to find a job, and only 18 per cent (daughters of cane-cutters from the Cajamarca mountains, having failed to complete secondary level) stated that school studies would be of no use to them at all.

This highlights how young people share the expectations of their parents about their own future through education, and how they have taken in the message, transmitted through the mass media and school itself, about their expectations and aspirations for the future.

In the case of those adolescent boys who stated that school would allow them to go on to University, 40 per cent said they would prefer a medical career, another 40 per cent were undecided and 20 per cent said that the possibility of studying depended on the family's financial situation, meaning that prospects were uncertain. In the case of the adolescent girls, 30 per cent would aim for nursing, 20 per cent for medicine and 10 per cent mentioned studies in biology. Short courses such as accounting, secretatial work and the women's police force accounted for 40 per cent of the sample.

It is interesting to note that adolescents' expectations for the future, indicate a certain rejection of their father's work, which is due to a clear understanding of the restrictions on the employment market and of the economic difficulties such working conditions cause. Thus, 81 per cent approximately of adolescents interviewed hoped to exercise a different activity to that of their fathers, whilst 18.19 per cent stated that they would do the same work if they did not manage to find anything else.

"I should like to have a different job from my father's because he has got where he is through his own possibilities, and as he has a large family he hasn't been able to get any further" (interview with a teenage boy).

"I do not want to be a worker like my father. Nor do I want to be a housewife. I want to study typewriting. I'll work in the APC if and when I can find some friends to get me into an office job" (interview with a teenage girl).

The adolescents' replies also point to a contradiction between their educational expectations and job hopes and the educational and productive systems' limited ability to satisfy them. These expectations are also in contradiction with the economic capacity of their parents to support their studies, a fact which aggravates the generation gap and the decline in parental authority.

3. Migration

Another factor revealing the new orientation of young people's hopes and aspirations is their marked tendency to leave Pucalá so as to improve their status. This move is a repeat of the choice made decades previously by their parents when they left their mountains for the coastland, but it is made at a time when, for parents, attachment to the home is a fundamental value.

Seventy per cent of male adolescents wish to leave Pucalá, 20 per cent are undecided, and only 10 per cent showed the open desire to stay in the area. In the case of girls, 69 per cent hoped to leave, with the remainder indicating that they would prefer to stay.

It is worth examining a number of the statements made by young people themselves, in which they explain their motivations and the factors behind them :

"I should like to go to other places where things are better, because Pucalá is a bit behind the times. This desire comes from myself, although the radio and television and the newspaper probably had something to do with it, but it is something that comes from within me....."

"I should like to study in Cajamarca (to be a Woman Civil Guard), and then work wherever they send me. I want to move out, travel around. When I read the magazines it gives me the urge to travel, to see new things, etc..."

"I want to leave, to go to Lima to work. I want to study. When I was talking to some friends once the idea came up of studying, working, learning about new things, because really, here, we don't do a thing..."

"My father is a baker. I would like to be a doctor. My father is exploited a lot. I want to travel, or else stay here, or just go to Chiclayo, to University – but with the cost of travelling these days...."

"I don't intend to carry on my father's job. He's a field labourer. I'd like to be a doctor. Whilst I'm studying I'll stay in Chiclayo to go to the University."

"I intend to stay here. I should like to study needlework with my friend, you like learning things for yourself – to be useful even at home – to be doing something......"

"My father is a male nurse in the APC hospital. I'd like to do a bit better for myself than he's done. If there's nothing to be had here I'll go somewhere else, but you've always got to hope to find something in your home area. For a time I thought of going off to the jungle one day. I got the idea from the films (I saw a cultural film on the "aguarunas communities")....

"My father is a cane-cutter and I've applied for a job in the APC as a factory worker. If I got that job I think I'd stay. For a time I thought of going to Trujillo for work...."

These last two replies highlight young people's sense of insecurity about stable sources of employment and, precisely because in the APC the great majority of these young people are unable to find fixed jobs, a "Front of the Unemployed" has been set up, which groups together some 5,000 young people of economically active age. As we noted earlier, this phenomenon would appear to be due partly to the gradual mechanization which has been taking place since the agrarian reform, to the closed-co-operative system which prevents new members from joining the workforce, and finally to pressure from the "hopefuls" – a vast body of workers who are already settled in the slums and whose ranks are constantly being swelled by newcomers from the mountains.

In order of importance,the young people gave the following as centres to which they would migrate : Chiclayo, the lively centre of the micro-region (40 per cent of boys and 30 per cent of girls), Trujillo, the sugar-growing centre of the Chicama valley (20 per cent of boys), Lima, (20 per cent of boys and 20 per cent of girls), and other towns (20 per cent of boys). Significantly, 50 per cent of adolescent girls declared they were prepared to go anywhere.

The reasons behind this desire to move out mostly involve studying (62 per cent of boys and 39 per cent of girls), finding a job (25 per cent of boys and 15 per cent of girls) and gaining experiences and knowledge (13 per cent of boys and 46.15 per cent of girls).

Among those adolescent girls interviewed who wanted to stay in the area, most of them stated that they were being kept back by family responsibilities, whilst a smaller proportion considered that their life was a good one and they consequently wished to stay in the area. Approximately half the total sample specified that they wished to go on to University studies, implying that they did not want to become mere housewives.

As for the rejection of the idea of following the occupational example of parents, it should be pointed out that productive process in which parents were working did not require women workers, and this explains the divergence of the answers.Furthermore, according to the ideological conception of women's education, the woman did not have the capacity to carry out activities entailing physical effort and therefore the environment in which she could work was limited to such places as shops, hospitals, offices and so on, and not in the fields, in factories or workshops or other places which were deemed to be of the sole competence of men.

The young girls wishing to go to work are inclined to do so in their home area, in the belief that they are in a better position to be taken on and offered a choice of employment in positions of a more feminine nature (sewing, hairdressing, and so forth). In addition, their preference for staying is linked to the fact that they see a certain amount of protection being afforded in their home area. This feature can be detected again when it is noted that a large majority of those girls wishing to leave think of Chiclayo, where they would be close to their parents and family and thus to a certain extent be able to help with the family budget.

The opinions of adolescent girls about their area ("it is a little behind the times" or "here we really don't do anything") would seem to be connected with the above-mentioned inability of the productive system to extend the labour market to include women. What is more, the idea of "backwardness" would seem to suggest that certain comparisons are being made with the more developed town centres, and this highlights the role of the media (television, radio, the cinema) including women's magazines ("Vanidades", "Buen Hogar"), which act as stimuli for change. The influence of the media can also be detected in the adolescent boys' statements.

4. The importance of religion

One point which completes the picture of differing opinions between parents and children involves religion. For the parents, its importance in the socialization of the children is fundamental. On the other hand, the young have minimized its importance, or, at best, reshaped its content.

Only one out of the ten mothers interviewed on this subject denied that religion was important in her children's education. The others all agreed that children should practise the various rites of the church and that religion could help them grow up into responsible beings.

Out of the sixteen fathers interviewed, various points of view were recorded, which can be summarized with the following except :

"Religion helps you to change your life and enables you to look at things from another point of view – it leads to better relations with other people and the community at large, it is a moral value which teaches you respect for your neighbour's property and love for your fellow men and this way you can live in peace ; it is a universal form of obedience which helps you to lead a better life."

All teachers interviewed stated that religious practice was an important part of the children's socialization process. However, they drew a line between religious rites and religious doctrine : half the interviewees agreed that participation in the rites of the Catholic Church was important – mass, christenings, communion, etc. ; the other half stated that these rites were losing their value as they were being conducted as simple social events.

"I was of the belief, and still am, that marriage in the Catholic Church is not the only way to get married,even though it is said that a woman who does not marry in white is not a virgin and so forth. Civil marriage is a family event and does not cost as much as a church wedding, which entails buying the bride's gown, wearing three-piece suits and sending out invitations to friends, acquaintances and strangers. The band is hired, beer is laid on and with the standard of living these days, which is so much higher, it's even worse. I would have thought all that money could have been used to save for something in the home, or even for the honeymoon which could be taken afterwards. The wedding could be held after the birth of the first child, then you could use the same money to pay for the christening as well. The Catholic religion propounds marriage but not the outlay involved and the clothes it calls for."

Another teacher was of the opinion that religion was a positive thing as long as it was objectively transmitted by the parents. One woman teacher believed that there should be some co-ordination between religion and formal education so that no contradictions arose which could confuse the students : she also believed that parents should know how to guide them.

Male adolescents declared in approximately 36 per cent of cases that parents attached importance to their religious training and practice and concerned themselves with it, whilst in the case of parents of girls, the percentage was extremely high ; 81.25 per cent. Despite this, the importance placed by adolescents on this aspect is low, and varies according to their sex. Only 35 per cent of adolescent boys, compared with 62.5 per cent of girls, declared that it *was* important ; whereas a quarter of adolescents interviewed stated that they attached no importance whatsoever to religion (27.3 per cent and 25 per cent for boys and girls respectively).

In this respect it should be noted that according to declarations made by a number of interviewees, there is greater religious freedom nowadays.

"Before people wouldn't hear of the sects of the Nazarenes or Jehovah's Witnesses ; the hacienda bosses even came to arrangements with a number of parents for the catechism, which was a different sort of training from nowadays. Today, there are kids here who are mixed up with the Jehovah's Witnesses and they even meet in their premises in Chiclayo – that didn't happen before, there was only Catholicism" (from an interview with a teacher).

Other adolescent girls stated that religion enabled them to build their lives on something, and they thought this was an advantage for them in society. As for the adolescent boys who were aware of the importance of religion, they found that it helped them to judge the social context, to conceive of a new moral order and fit their future behaviour to it.

IV. THE LIFE CYCLE IN PUCALA THROUGH THE EYES OF ITS INHABITANTS

To gain an understanding of the way in which young people – on the basis of the material obtained from the semi-directive and autobiographical interviews – look at population problems, such issues need to be situated within the frame of reference which was transmitted to them by their parents in order to observe how they match them to their own economic and social environment and the influences of external socializing agents.

As an underlying factor directly affecting socialization and population education, it is also important to deal specifically with the following concepts : fertility, natality and the present-day scope of family planning, child birth and care of the new-born child, adolescence, initiation and sexual education, marriage and the end of active life and the death of the individual. All these elements will enable us to map out the major features of the life cycle of the inhabitants of the area under study.

1. Fertility and family planning

The inhabitants of the area are in broad agreement about the value of fertility and child-bearing. Traditionally, it was considered that a married couple should have an unlimited number of children, an attitude which has changed as a result of the economic crisis and population pressure on the sources of employment. Nevertheless, it is considered that children are an indispensable factor for the happiness of a home ; i.e. sterility in either the husband or the wife, particularly the latter, is sufficient cause for separation or overt unfaithfulness. Thus, problems of sterility are frowned upon, and a childless couple is branded as being "machorros" (an allusion to their reproductive incapacities).

Particularly for the man, having many children has always been a symbol of prestige. For their part, women express the opinion that having many children is a source of suffering, since it falls to them to bear the responsibility and physical effort of pregnancy, giving birth, bringing the child up and educating it, etc. (for example, records talk of the case of one woman who in 27 years of married life was pregnant 18 times, 7 of which ended in natural abortions).

Recently, according to the declarations made by the hospital obstetrician, young mothers have been becoming more informed about ovulation, menstruation, fertility, etc. and have a greater awareness of their reproductive role. Traditionally, the great majority believed that man engendered the child, there was total ignorance of woman's ovulation process, and she was seen merely in a passive role of "receiver".

After the agrarian reform, medical services became an entitlement for the wives of the associate workers and other employees of the APC, and especially since 1975, the hospital has begun to step up the provision of contraceptive means for mothers undergoing treatment there. The indirect diffusion of such means to mothers who do not attend the hospital occurs through family and friends, conversations, hearsay, etc. Modern contraceptive means (the pill, intra-uterine devices, etc.) are becoming more commonplace particularly among the young mothers who have access to a hospital. Consequently, between 1970 and 1978, despite a few variations, there has been an overall drop in the number of births in young mothers as a result of later first pregnancy and longer intervals between childbirth. This datum should be treated with caution, since there is no guarantee that during their fertile life, mothers will *not* return to the fertility behaviour of their mothers under social pressure, particularly from their husbands.

In the past, mothers asked for contraceptive devices after the sixth child, particularly if they had lost a child or delivered by Cesarian section. Nowadays this occurs after the birth of the second child. They stress the need for treatment as their husbands make no effort to help or use the Ogino method. Voluntary abortion is rejected by all.

The men have serious objections to their wives' using contraceptive means. They believe it may lead to unfaithfulness. Others state that knowing their wives cannot get pregnant because they are using contraceptive devices, prevents them from obtaining full satisfaction from their sexual relations. On the other side, the wives fear that chemical contraceptive methods cause cancer and other physiological disturbances (fatness, headaches, nervousness, etc.). Despite these fears, they prefer to face up to the possibility of aches and pains rather than immediately becoming pregnant again. Ligaturing the tubes is the least common method because of the expense it involves and because the co-operative does not cover the cost of this surgical operation. Traditionally it was said that certain herbs had contraceptive or abortive qualities, but these are hardly ever used.

Pregnancy

Almost as soon as the associate worker or labourer in the co-operative marries, he registers his wife with the hospital so that she becomes entitled to free care and a medical card. Neither women living in cohabitation nor second wives are entitled to this medical service ; only the man's registered wife can receive such assistance. Medical facilities for pregnant women include clinical analysis for the diagnosis of pregnancies, monthly and fortnightly check-ups, care at childbirth, care of the newborn child and guidance in the use of contraceptives upon request by the mother. It is interesting to note however, that although the majority of pregant women attend hospital and have check-ups during pregnancy, only 50 per cent actually deliver in the APC's hospital or in Chiclayo. The other 50 per cent prefer to give birth at home in the care of midwives.

The above would tend to indicate that this is not due to mistrust of modern medicine or cultural identification between the mother and the midwife (since she accepts treatment by modern medicine in the supervision of her pregnancy), but rather to the fact that giving birth at home enables her to continue looking after her children and at the same time to be cared for by her family. This does not happen in the hospital : for three days the house and children are abandoned ; mothers can only receive visitors during set visiting hours, and so forth. Other important factors behind the decision are the mistrust they feel about the maternity ward and delivery room ("all those knives and things") and the fact of giving birth in front of strangers, for whom the birth is just one more in a long succession. On the other hand, when they give birth at home, family atmosphere, care and attention and the suchlike build up their sense of confidence and security.

During the pregnancy period, no particular care is taken about domestic work. The women keep to their usual timetable and do the same sort of work : they raise heavy things, carry containers of paraffin, water, etc. The husband offers no special help in the heavy chores during the pregnancy, for both he and his wife consider that it is a perfectly normal state that calls for no particular care attention or precautions.

2. Natality and infancy

Birth and post-natal period

There are a number of variations in the methods, customs and precautions involved in childbirth. One still occasionally encounters the mountain custom of delivering in the squatting position on a floor covered with a sheepskin rug (surrounded by guinea-pigs), together with that of cutting the umbilical cord with a length of reed and fastening it with sheepswool, without observing even the minimum conditions of hygiene. This custom still prevails particularly in the slum districts where there are many migrants from the mountain whose marginal situation reproduces and reinforces traditional customs in a markedly urban setting.

In the co-operative's main settlements, the situation is different. In an interview with a midwife from Cutervo who attends most cases, the conditions of hygiene required of the woman in labour were indicated : clean sheets, the requirement that parturition takes place in a bed and not on the floor, the use of disinfected scissors, cotton, gauze and alcohol etc., for cutting the umbilical cord, and also admission into hospital in difficult cases calling for an operation. This gives an idea of comparability with the standards of modern medicine and shows a relatively high level of hygiene and efficiency.

It is sometimes believed that the umbilical cord should only be cut once the placenta has been expelled, as it is said that "the warmth of the baby makes the placenta fall". If it fails to do so, a length of thread is fastened between the umbilical cord and the big toe, since it is believed that the cord may otherwise work its way inside the body and become impossible to extract. At present times there are few cases of death through infection because the placental residue is not expelled, for in such cases the mother is taken to hospital. After birth, it is usual to bury the placenta or submerge it in the water of a river, etc., to avoid its being eaten by the birds, since it is considered as the depositary of "secret forces".

The post-delivery diet for the mother bans fish, ollucos, manioc roots and potatoes for fear that they may cause infection to the baby's navel. The mother follows a diet consisting mainly of watery rice and chicken, and avoids eating any fish for forty days after giving birth. It is believed that any failure to respect this custom may cause problems for future deliveries, affect the quality of the mother's milk and consequently harm the new born child.

As a rule the mothers who have just given birth go back to their usual occupations three or four days after the event, although in some cases they wait a week. When they live with their mothers or with a sister who can help them through those few days, they can rest and take a number of precautions. However, the great majority of mothers do not have that sort of help and are therefore compelled to return to domestic work immediately.

Sexual relations after childbirth recommence at a relatively early stage on the husband's demand, and this is evidenced by the number of new pregnancies that are registered the month after the birth of a child.One anecdote has it that many women turn to the hospital obstetrician and ask him to give them a medical prescription ordering a "sexual diet" to curtail their husbands' demands.

Continual pregnancy from an early age, together with heavy physical work in the home, are among the causes of poor health conditions for still relatively young mothers.

Infant morbidity and mortality during the first year of life

A certain number of beliefs are still held which may explain the level of infant mortality during the first few months of life.

The so-called "seven-day sickness" – tetanus – is put down to the lack of hygiene during childbirth (due to cohabitation with animals) or to the fact that "a neighbour was roasting coffee at the time".

When a neighbour cuts wood with an axe or a hammer, it is feared that the child's skull will be split open. Also widespread is the "eye illness" or "fright" which only affects children, particularly young ones. The diagnosis of modern medicine is often that of any common illness, and antibiotics and other medicaments are prescribed ; but it is believed that if children with "eye illness" or "fright" is given these medicine, they will bring about his instant death.

A high death rate in the local hospitals – which does not account for the total number of deaths since serious cases are sent to Chiclayo – involves small children who have died from dehydration, diarrhoea, bronchial pneumonia and other infections of the respiratory channels, tetanus, encephalitis, meningitis, measles etc.

The suckling period

One custom deeply rooted in mountain tradition is to breastfeed the child until the age of two or three. It is believed that it is one way of avoiding further pregnancy. In Pucalá, the custom lives on although it has undergone certain changes since the 1950s with the setting up of the "Milkdrop" assistance scheme and the spread of bottle-feeding.

Nowadays, as from the second or third month, mothers start accustoming the child to solid and semi-solid foodstuffs, fruit juices and a generally more balanced diet ; in addition, greater attention and care is taken about hygiene and the prevention of sickness.

Baptism and "pelamiento"

The baptismal ceremony has preserved a number of tradional cultural features in parts of the population ; a lavish fiesta is laid on for the godfather, with a meal consisting basically of home-raised guinea-pigs and fowl and traditional alcoholic drinks such as chicha and yonque and, to a lesser extent, beer. Baptism represents a large expense to which fathers often object in the belief that no benefit really derives from having godparents.

The "pelamiento" – the first haircut – is a typical mountainfolk ceremony. It is the occasion for a family fiesta, at which the whole family, particularly the godparents, gives presents of money on cutting a lock of hair that has been previously tied up. The amount they give is their own choice and depends on their financial possibilities. In return, they are lavishly entertained by the child's parents with an abundance of food and drink. For the baptism and the "pelamiento", the godparents pay the cost of the child's layette for the occasion : socks, shoes, dress or suit, etc.

There can be no doubt that although these rituals preserve a certain degree of family unity in urban areas they are not as important as they are in the mountains. However, the first haircut signifies the ritual transition point from infancy to childhood.

3. Adolescence and sexual initiation of the young

The adolescents consider that the appearance of pubic hair is a sign that they have reached full sexual maturity. From then on – after the age of about thirteen – they experience various initiation practices, amongst which the most common are masturbation, practices with animals and relations with prostitutes.

One biography which is particularly interesting because of the spontaneity and frankness with which the informant approaches the subject, highlights this full range of sexual initiation experiences.

"....I came to live in the Workers' Quarter at the age of thirteen – before then I used to live in Hospital Street. In the Workers' Quarter, I met a friend and he taught me strange things – first he taught me how to masturbate ; that was a thing I never knew about. Then I had relations with an animal ; it was the first time I'd done it. I also remember that they made me have a homosexual relation for the first time ; we also started going to see the "cañeras" (illegal prostitutes working in the sugar plantations), all we could do was watch because of the look-outs used to scare us young ones away : we just wanted to know...."

Interviews with other adolescent boys also report homosexual experiences. As regards relations with animals, this appears to have survived from children's and adolescents' customs in the mountains.

Sexual initiation does not signify any new obligations or duties in the family, but is merely part of the young child's life cycle. The sexual development of young people today starts at an earlier age under the influence of the mass media and even the school. However, as marriage is generally postponed because of the unemployment problem, young people maintain sexual relations which have no continuity or consequence. "I had relations with a girl and we had a good time together, but then everything came to an end..." (from an interview with an adolescent boy).

The value of virginity and the sexual initiation of women

According to the interviews carried out with adolescent girls, it is to be noted that the first notions of sexuality appear at the age of thirteen or fourteen, and this roughly coincides with the beginning of the reproductive cycle. Along with these first notions, caution is advised regarding pre-marital relations, its consequences for the woman and the importance of virginity. Here is where the difference arises in the value placed on initiation and sexual behaviour between men and women. Whereas for the young man, the earlier and more active his sexual life is, the greater his prestige becomes in the eyes of his friends, the young girl is taught that virginity is the gateway and guarantee for marriage without any risk of reproach from the future husband.

As can be appreciated from the interviews with mothers, 90 per cent acknowledged that virginity was a good thing :

"....Of course it's important for a woman to preserve her maidenhood. That's a good thing for her ; the contrary is terrible, it means disgrace for her. Because when she sets up a home her husband says that she's been in the hands of others and he'll despise her...." (from an interview with a mother).

Amongst the rural-dwellers of Chota, virginity is one of the basic conditions for a woman to be able to marry, and the contrary is seen as sufficient cause for separation. The fiancée's father has to guarantee to the fiancé that she is a virgin, and as a result supervision of girls during adolescence is relatively strict. This is one of the reasons why many girls are not sent to school.

However, since the hacienda system was abolished, increasing discrepancies have emerged between the values handed down orally by parents and the general behaviour of adults. This initially occurred in the settlements themselves, and has since spread to the slum areas where conjugal problems, promiscuity, instability and the consequent lowering of moral standards are severe. The children are witness to such behaviour from an early age, and this affects their personality, morality and sexual behaviour, the latter being reflected in an increase in pre-marital relationships.

4. Sex education of the young

Parents

The generation gap and the communication breakdown between parents and children have been constantly referred to throughout this chapter and the two phenomena clearly reappear in reference to sex education.

In the rural, mountain-dwelling families, children's sex education is not carried out orally but basically by observing livestock mating as they are being minded ; children also gain some knowledge by what they see of their parents' sexual relations since they all live in the same confined environment. However, various traditional ideological aspects are transmitted orally – concepts concerning fertility, virginity, marriage and the size of families – and stem from a rigid system of values that acts as a mechanism of social control, regulating relations between the sexes from adolescence onwards.

It is precisely these control mechanisms that are entering a crisis period in the new socio-economic context ; the family structure is disintegrating and each member is jealously and aggressively guarding his own independence :

".....I don't broach the subject (sexuality) with my parents because I don't have any confidence in them. They don't know about those things. Before, they lived up in the mountains. There, the people have little knowledge about such things. I should like to talk about sex to my children because it is very important, otherwise they'll go off the beaten track. My parents couldn't teach me much. I do talk to my school mates though" (interview with a teenage boy).

"In some cases I talk to my parents. But I prefer to keep my problems to myself. I don't have any confidence in them. I prefer to go off and cry in my little corner....They do talk to me of generalities, about lovers, boyfriends, they warn us, they explain how babies are born, etc... I would prefer them to get more to the point" (interview with a teenage girl).

"There isn't much communication with my father because he's always away working in the fields. And he doesn't talk about sex because he doesn't think he knows anything about it. I talk more with my friends than with my parents. They weren't used to talking about those things because they're illiterate, uneducated people. I've had an education and I'll talk to my children about it because it's natural and necessary" (interview with a teenage boy).

"I do talk to him about some problems. Anything to do with my future. I avoid talking to him about other problems outside that area, like those connected with other people, girlfriends. My father was always interfering in those problems. I've spoken with my father about subjects to do with sex, but always when he'd had a few to drink. Never when he was sober. I put him in his place about it. When I was in the second year of secondary school he raised my pocket money thinking I'd use it to go to brothels, and he was surprised when I used it to buy books" (teenage boy).

Of the male adolescents, 54 per cent approximately tackled the subject of sexuality matters with their parents. Of these, 50 per cent did so with the father alone and 50 per cent with both. None said they did so only with their mother. Even in the group which said they spoke with their parents on the subject, 57.14 per cent stated that this was in an indirect way. They almost all intended to deal with the subject directly with their own children.

As far as adolescent girls were concerned, 63 per cent talked of sexuality related issues with their parents, of which 30 per cent spoke only with their mother and 60 per cent with both. Informants stated that the subject was tackled in an indirect and rather insincere way. All of them said they would talk to their own children on the subject.

The result of the interviews indicates that the general causes for the lack of communication are : parents' own reticence to talk of sexual subjects, the difference in education which makes the parents feel inferior and insufficiently supported by their children, and the tensions and conflicts between husband and wife which cause the children to turn in on themselves, feel insecure and seek information and support mainly in their groups of friends.

The school

According to the guidelines set out in the Educational Reform – in force since 1974 – aspects relating to the anatomy and physiology of the human body and particurarly the reproductive apparatus of man and woman are subjects currently dealt with in the first years of secondary school during anatomy and physiology lessons.

The effectiveness of the course depends partly on the directives and specific adjustments made by the area School Nuclei and each individual school. Furthermore, and this is perhaps the most important factor, it is subject to the teachers' training and skills, their own experiences in life, their inhibitions and their ability to approach the subject with a broad mind.

In practice, it is to be noted that there is a widespread tendency to deal with physiology and sexuality subjects as if they were separate, isolated matters, without placing them within the whole interlocking network of adolescents' sexual relations, emotional problems and sexual expectations.

All the young people interviewed without exception, of both sexes, indicated that they would like to be given information on sexuality and that it should be given by the school or in courses by the APC. It is noteworthy in this respect that adolescent males were less explicit than the women on the point, but this can probably be explained by the fact that knowledge of sexual matters is one of the fundamental values of "machismo" in youth , therefore, there is a certain amount of reticence about the prospect of allowing woman to share this knowledge, but above all, about showing their own ignorance in public. Nevertheless, a number of facts put together would seem to indicate their interest in the subject, especially where this concerns contraceptive means, since as a result of their ignorance they often have to cope with unwanted pregnancies and abortions.

One measure of the scope of young people's expectations is the disappointment with which they describe their experiences at school and other institutions like the APC and the parish.

"I think that instead of wasting time on various pointless courses, they could at least give weekly lessons on sex education. They could give a whole number of short courses but for a minimum length of one and a half or two months" (teenage boy).

"I should like there to be sex education courses at every school – and not just the theoretical side like there is now. They should be given inside and outside school by the appropriate institutions" (teenage girl).

"School taught me very little about sex. The teachers taught me individually. I know something about physiology, and also about venereal diseases. We talk about that subject with school friends during recreation and free periods" (teenage boy).

"Some teachers talk to us about it, they explain things and give us advice. There was an "OBE" course (1). But they were always changing the timetable and calling the teacher in to the principal's office. In the first year of secondary school I didn't know a thing. I was 11 or 12 and I heard what the boys said, but all I did was listen. The next year the teacher talked to us, but only as we were leaving the classroom, as if it were a personal thing" (interview with a teenage girl).

"Yes, I was given a short sex education course at a retreat (2). At school we were given talks. I've got a few general ideas. I think they should give more detailed education, even using films. With my girl friends I also learned some things after the age of thirteen" (interview with a teenage girl).

"I should like to learn about it at school and through courses at the APC – some have already been organized, but I couldn't go because I didn't have enough money – you had to pay" (teenage boy).

It is interesting to note two facts which emerge from these statements ; firstly, the fact that co-education introduced by the Educational Reform has undoubtedly led to more spontaneous exchanges between the sexes and information has been filtering through if only "by listening to the boys" ; the other significant fact is that most of the education about sexuality is carried out by teachers – of both sexes – outside the classroom "as if it were a personal thing", implying tacit reticence to do so within a formal environment and the need to make it part of casual conversation and private advice. The expectations stated by the young people clearly show a deep interest for formal educational courses, need and interest to which the introduction of population education would respond.

---

(1) "Basic Guidance for the Student", a course regarding student's psychological and social welfare.

(2) Sessions for reflection and meditation organized by the Church.

Friends and peer groups

In the light of the interviews that have been quoted concerning initiation and sex education, it is obvious that the most important role in both areas is played by friends.

The group of peers functions on the basis of common interest and the transmission of a variety of elements of a cognitive, emotional and psychological nature. The most important point is that the group confers a particular identity on each individual member, a fundamental factor in the period of adolescence and youth, in that each member attempts to find an opening for the role conferred upon him by the community and society at large through his value as the source of human reproduction.

It is on this basis that the group gains value and meaning, and survives until its individual components acquire their own identity and take on material and family responsibilities or establish lasting emotional relationships, which remove them for a time from their group of friends.

Thus the peer group or "the street" takes on particular importance for sex education at a time of conflict, instability, communication barriers and mistrust, although the way these subjects are dealt with is often in no way consistent with its actual importance and scope. Around 68 per cent of adolescent boys declared that with neighbourhood friends and school companions they had exchanged opinions on subjects and problems that were dealt with neither at home nor in the school, half of which involved sex. In the case of adolescent girls, the proportion of them who had spoken with their girl friends and companions about sex, drugs and other juvenile problems, totalled approximately 70 per cent.

5. Marriage

In the expectations about marriage displayed by adolescents of both sexes, it is highly significant to note that for 81 per cent of boys and 95 per cent of girls, such aspirations were handed down to them by their parents. Thus, the influence that parents apparently have over their children here would seem to contradict the information concerning the generation split we observed when dealing with other population issues.

However, a closer look at the interviews with parents allows us to pinpoint one of the keys to this apparent inconsistency. Parents' statements about the values which they transmit to their children are really images and concepts of the ideal marriage, and are far removed from the actual features of their own relationships. They are all the more emphatic, the more such values are lacking in real life.

For example, some mothers stated the following :

"....A man must be affectionate with the woman he is seeking to take as his companion, but he mustn't be like that for a while only, just because he likes a woman, and then gets tired of her. It must be lasting, the two must become one, and face their misfortunes together."

"Man must be hard-working, look after his children and make sure they study."

"Women want their husbands to be affectionate and loving and everything they earn to be given to them so that they can be sure of a quiet life."

This would indicate that the hopes they express about their children's marriages stress what is *not* to be found in their own : faithfulness, devotion to the children and, very probably, moderation in drink, are the most outstanding qualities which should be found in a husband.

Adolescent girls also made very open declarations about the need for mutual understanding in the married couple – this obtained the highest percentage – 32 per cent – followed by job security (28 per cent), mutual respect between man and wife (18 per cent), love (12 per cent) and faithfulness (8 per cent). It is to be noted how few consider love to be the main factor on which the rest depends. Rather, in these replies, it is the basic requirements of "goodness" and "understanding" which most adolescent girls see as being the most important qualities in their spouses.

In the case of adolescent boys, the greatest concern is to find a stable job to enable them to set up a home based on the same qualities as those to which the girls aspire : responsibility, honour, faithfulness and sobriety.

The urgent problem being faced by the young men of finding steady work has pushed back the ideal age for marriage for men to between 24 and 30 years, whereas in their parents' generation it ranged between 19 and 25 years. For the same reason, in the case of the young women, the ideal age for marriage in their eyes has moved back from between 13 and 23 years – the ideal age in their mothers' opinion – to between 20 and 25 years.

Another of the consequences of this problem, which upsets young men's desire to form a family once they have a fixed job, is the readily-acknowledged fact that since it is impossible to reach such a situation, they marry anyway :

"....in the past my parents thought we should have work before we got married but now you can have four or more children and still be without a job...." This also points to the contradiction between any "male chauvinist" attitudes they may have and their incapacity to fulfil their role as sole provider for the family economy.

It is not surprising that male adolescents were generally in favour of their future wives' being able not only to run a home but also to have sufficient professional qualifications to provide a contribution to the budget. One said :

"....If I become a professional, I want to marry a professional", and he bases this point of view, not on the opportunity of thus sharing certain experiences together, but "because life is going to be more expensive in future".

Regarding the civil status of couples, the great majority were married by civil ceremony, and fewer through the Church. The co-operative system made civil marriage compulsory so that the wife of the worker could be entitled to the APC amenities, as was seen in the section dealing with maternity care.

Relationships by common consent occur frequently, especially in second marriages or in cases of migrants from the mountains, who legalize their marriages far less frequently.

The deterioration of conjugal problems has given rise to a high rate of separation and dissolutions in both married and unmarried couples. This separation generally takes place in a *de facto* manner, beause of the cost of legal proceedings. Society does not reprove the formation of new partnerships by people who have broken their ties of marriage except when this involves women who have abandoned their children.

6. From retirement to death

Unlike the traditional rural-dwelling economy, in which a man who has reached the end of his economically active life is supported and cared for by his own family, workers in the APC retire between the ages of 55 and 60 depending upon their length of service with the company.

Their role within the family unit is also quite different from that held by their forebears in the mountains. In the traditional rural family, the elderly fulfilled an important role in the socialization of the young children, advised on family problems and, owing to their wide experience, would participate actively in the solving of the family's economic problems.

In Pucalá, the elderly person is considered as a burden rather than a help in both the domestic and economic areas. His grandchildren free themselves at an early age from any supervision, so that his opportunities for playing a part in their education are minimal. As a result, he moves into the category of marginal members of society.

As concerns informants' attitudes towards death, no tendencies towards fatalism or resignation are to be found. People do what they can with the means at their disposal to avoid death or put if off. As a rule, the family pressures the co-operative into helping them transfer the elderly sick to places where they can be given the best possible medical treatment.

The autobiographical statement of an associate's wife is illustrative in this respect :

"....When he (she refers to her husband) fell ill, I did all I could to get him transferred to Lima because he had cancer. I did all I could to get him out of the co-operative. Because I'd been told they had all the scientific means there and he'd be able to recover. But all was in vain – they carried out the operation, and removed one of his lungs. A doctor said to me : steel yourself for the idea that you're going to have to be mother and father at one and the same time for your children ; the thing is, this case is already lost. But my husband said they'd brought him in to operate him, so operate him they must. He demanded this so forcefully that they operated him. The doctor said to me : "look, if we operate him we're just putting the illness off, but even if we didn't operate, he'd last two years or so". But anyway, as my husband demanded that they operate, they did. Once his wounds had healed, they tried to get him better. When he looked as if he'd recovered, they sent him off by plane. He lasted eight days".

Burial customs in Pucalá, which in the past still preserved features of the traditional rural-dwelling system, are dying out, becoming less complex and losing some of their former rituals. This is as a result of the growing impact of town life on the attitudes of the settlement's inhabitants towards death, and economic factors to do with their cost. Burials in rural provinces such as Chota still serve to rekindle certain family ties of mutual help. In Pucalá this is no longer the case, as its inhabitants no longer rely on their families' help in order to survive.

101

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS, SYNTHESIS AND GUIDELINES FOR A POPULATION EDUCATION PROGRAMME

I. INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of our study, we decided to approach the population socialization process as a dynamic situation governed by various elements of the global context in which it occurred. Accordingly, in the examination of the actual case under analysis, we endeavoured to establish the relationships between the most commonplace features of population questions and changes that have taken place in the agrarian structure, the employment situation, society, politics and cultural life and also the impact of government policy on the small world of Pucalá and its inhabitants. The results obtained may therefore be considered representative of all the areas in the northern coastal region as well as a large proportion of the settlements along the coasts of the country as a whole.

The basic observation emerging from our work has been that populations in environments such as the one under study have undergone rapid changes in their economic situation as a result of the capitalistic development of agriculture. This process has divided the area's people into two sections ; one which has remained rural in nature and preserved the old production relations, and another which has become proletarianized. All the other processes of social change which accompany this evolution are unavoidably part of this context.

It is probably in social life, family structure and cultural outlooks that the impact has been greatest and most apparent ; this is particularly the case when it is remembered that proletarianization is a relatively long, slow process and the transformation of the productive system does not mechanically or automatically bring about a redefinition of roles and values, but does so rather through a transition process that is full of sudden bursts, regressions and contradictions. Nevertheless, given the fact that in Pucalá we have been able to observe a situation spanning some fifty years, it is possible to assess the effects of this process on nearly two generations, and identify the most marked changes in the second.

For this reason, the hypotheses set out at the beginning should now be considered as having been illustrated rather than proven. From this point of view therefore, the major results obtained concerning the strategies, practices and contents of population education with a view to clarifying requirements for an educational programme on the basis of this case study, can be summarized as follows :

1. Changes in the productive system have given rise to changes in the patterns, norms and values of family relations.
2. The changes in these patterns are highlighted in the predominance of a disintegrated family structure, in which lack of communication and contradictions between the ideals and behaviours of parents and children are the prominent features.
3. These contradictions are further aggravated by the influence of the media, which put concepts and ways of life within reach of the population and alienate individuals from their families as socializing agents.
4. The crisis that has arisen in family relations is also increasing the influence of peer groups and the school in population education.
5. Furthermore, the school and formal education are as a direct result of the above point becoming channels through which the people are seeking to resolve their drastic employment and financial situation, thus behaving, under different circumstances, in the same way as did their parents when they sought to emigrate as a way of overcoming their own problems.

In the light of these observations, before going on to the evaluation of this study from the point of view of possible population education strategies and practices, we need to underline the vital importance of the document which has been produced by the Peruvian Government on this subject, entitled *"Lines of Emphasis of Population Policy in Peru"*, (1) a work which was entrusted to the National Institute of Planning in Lima in 1976. As will be seen below, this is a particularly important official document because of the assessment it makes of the most urgent population-related problems and also because of the measures it proposes in order to solve them.

This chapter begins, therefore, with a comparison of the population issue as presented in the study carried out in Pucalá with the material produced by the national authorities, in order to broaden its scope and identify the support structures which would be available for population education programmes.

---

(1) *Lineamientos de política de población en el Perú*, Supreme Decree N° 00625-76-SA of 31 August 1976, published in the newspaper *El Peruano*, Lima, on 30 September 1976.

II. THE POPULATION ISSUE

1. The socio-economic setting

The first basic topic of the study involves the impact of capitalism and the structural changes that have taken place in the socio-economic sector on population dynamics in the micro-region, i.e. massive migration from mountain to coast and the proletarianization of the rural-dwelling population.

According to the "Lines of Emphasis of Population Policy in Peru", Peru's population "does not at the present time present any problems of excessive density, but rather of poor distribution and, particularly, rapid growth, closely related with the structural problems of its development". Internal migration flows reflect the population's attempts to match its distribution to that of national resources and employment opportunities : "whereas in 1970, demographic pressure on the land represented 5.7 inhabitants per cultivated hectare, it is estimated that in 1980 the equivalent figure will have risen to 6.8 per hectare". Data on income distribution emphasize the disequilibrium : "10 per cent of the population earns more than 40 per cent of total national income, whereas the poorest 30 per cent of the population only receives one tenth of the total income of the country".

In this context, the authors of the study of the micro-region point out, the massive movements of labour which are continuing to take place only serve to bring pressure to bear on the already saturated employment markets in the few areas which are not demanders on the coast, leading to the creation of low-productivity jobs which give rise to socio-economic exploitation of the immigrant population and consequently impose heavy burdens on the basic community services in the areas. One direct after-effect of this process is the rise in the juvenile unemployment rate which, in turn, causes severe social disruption such as the formation of large families without any economic stability, the gradual marginalization of an increasingly large number of individuals of productive age and the decision to emigrate to built-up areas that are capable of absorbing them, in the same way as their parents did.

In view of the complexity and difficulty of controlling the problem of migration and its consequences, the Peruvian Government has established that a population education project should increase awareness of these problems, "encourage migratory trends to turn towards new areas of agricultural and industral development in such a way as to reduce and offset the excessive growth taking place in the capital and other major towns and foster decentralization through a policy of regional development"(1).

It is obvious that the Pucalá study carried out in 1979 and 1980 largely bears out the conclusions reached three years previously in the official paper about the existing socio-economic and demographic disequilibria.

2. The structure of the family

The changes experienced in the family structure of rural origin as a result firstly of the *enganche* system and subsequently of settlement in towns, is one of the most closely investigated aspects of this work ; it starts as far back as the time of the self-sufficient domestic unit in which the paternal and maternal roles were clearly defined and which was capable of assigning a productive role to all of its members ; it then passes through the period when the family of the "*enganchado*" experienced the virtually constant absence of the father, and finally comes to a halt in today's working-class family which relies on a single salary and has abruptly come into contact with the institutional organization of the State and urban ideology. Parents' traditional norms and values are being challenged by the children, and a generation gap has opened up which is becoming difficult to bridge. In each stage of the transition, both the study and the interviews pointed to the gradual deterioration in emotional ties between husband and wife and between parents and children to a point where at times total communication breakdown has been reached. Furthermore, a marked tendency is observed in the male adolescents to reproduce their fathers' behaviour in their own marriages, despite the changes that have occurred in external circumstances.

The Peruvian Government Decree, on this point, constitutes a scarcely-veiled and urgent cry of alarm : "The role of the father in many homes, particularly in the towns, has gradually been reduced to a solely economic one (i.e. supporting the family budget) and there is a certain neglect of the necessary communication between married couples and between children and their fathers, who, in actual fact, only play a minor role in family life. Furthermore, the Peruvian male, for various social and cultural reasons, tends to have an irresponsible attitude towards child-bearing, reflected in the number of cases of broken homes, unstable co-habitation ties, abuse and humiliation of women and abandoned children. The absence of the father figure and his failure to participate in family life – one of the major causes of which is massive internal migration in search of employment – is one of the greatest social and psychological problems that the Peruvian family is having to face at this time. Moreover, the mass media frequently foment these serious disturbances in values and behaviour by deforming the image of the woman, using her as a sexual object or presenting a misleading sublimation of the mother's role at the same time as they minimize the father's figure, or by promoting foreign and alienating models of family life." (2)

To acknowledge the Decree's authority and knowledgeability regarding the problem of the Peruvian family goes without saying, but it is also wothwhile stressing, as far as the approach to the subject is concerned, how it describes the role of the woman as being the subject of sexual and social exploitation, without any position in productive life and divested of all powers of decision-making.

In the case of Pucalá, signs of a change in this situation can be detected because of the contribution that women are now starting to make to the family budget with their wages. This explains the importance attached by fathers to their daughters' education, and male adolescents' hopes to marry women who have a training in a particular field of industry or the services. Girls, for their part, are increasingly showing their desire not to repeat the experiences of their own mothers and to attain greater self-fulfilment in society.

---

(1) *Lineamientos de política de población en el Perú, op. cit.*.

(2) *Lineamientos de política de población en el Perú, op. cit.*

However, the Peruvian Government's document, which tackles the problem on a nationwide scale, stresses at various points that "the current social order assigns a secondary role to woman, devoted to procreation and domestic chores." (1) Although to a lesser extent, the same situation is to be observed in the case under study.

3. Fertility and reproductive behaviour

In both these fields, the Decree is enlightening : "The overall fertility rate of the Peruvian woman is 6.4, more than double that of woman in those countries where she has attained a status of relative equality of rights and opportunities with man. The reason for this high figure lies in the social context in which we live, a context which prevents a truly free and responsible attitude by parents towards the size of their own family." (2)

"In Peru, the regulation of reproductive behaviour is related to the country's cultural, socio-economic and technological facilities ; whereas privileged families have full acess to these, families of a lower socio-economic level have them on a limited scale and are obliged to take on a disproportionately heavy reproductive burden. As a general rule, women in Peru have limited opportunities to control their fertility, despite the vital importance of their reproductive function and the attendant and unavoidable risk to their own lives of repeted pregnancies; in the poorer or marginal sectors there is a lack of sufficient facilities to help the working mother. In the employment area, the existing laws are either not enforced or so interpreted as to be discriminatory. The greater part of the female population does not enjoy the benefits of social security and maternity care facilities are inadequate, poorly distributed and fail to reach the right people." (3) "Regarding the causes of death through child-bearing, a predominance of haemorrhage and abortion is to be noted. Psychiatric infant morbidity (mental backwardness, convulsive syndromes and behavioural deviancy) is also heavily influenced by the size of the family, the short interval between successive pregnancies and the shortcomings in ante-natal, natal and post-natal care for the child. Only some 75 per cent of births are duly registered and out of these, only 40 per cent received some form of professional assistance." (4)

In connection with this last point, the study shows that in the population of Pucalá, as a result of the action of the Co-operative, women are automatically entitled to assistance provided that they are the lawful wives of workers; furthermore, there is evidence of a trend towards greater use of contraceptive means after the birth of the second or third child. Although stressing the difficulties and shortcomings involved, the study also points to the help provided for serious illness, involving transfer to towns with better medical facilities, and so forth.

Although both the Decree and the study deal with a much broader range of topics in the population field, only these three major areas and a number of parallel subjects have been selected, for they enable us to identify the points of convergence and also consider the significant differences that do exist between the regional and national levels.

III. MEASURES PROPOSED IN THE DOCUMENT "LINES OF EMPHASIS OF POPULATION POLICY IN PERU"

The accurate identification and diagnosis made by the Peruvian Government of the population problems affecting the whole country has led it to give priority to the following objectives and measures :

"On the basis of the lines of emphasis of the Educational Reform, promote family life and sex education courses designed to encourage responsible parenthood, ensure relevant and complete training for educators and provide population education courses to guide students of all ages in the value of inter-personal relations and respect for life, as well as in the dynamics of demographic phenomena and their effects on the development of the society. Ensure high scientific and ethical standards in publications, films and other aids referring to sex and family life education. Provide, especially for adults, lifelong education in health, family life and in parents' rights and duties in the new society in Peru as well as in the influences of social, political, economic and cultural structures on the harmonious development of family life."

"Take economic, social and cultural measures designed to increase the value of the family institution as the basis of our society. To do so, the human being must be considered as a part of the family context into which he is born and in which he subsequently develops his basic ties with his parents, family and then his own children. This context needs to be protected by society as a whole, so as to enable the family to relate to the social and historical process in which it is involved. In this way, a truly united society can be built up in the pursuit of the goals of the Nation."

"Take measures to encourage genuine, responsible parenthood, that is, informed, conscious and free decisions by the couple about the size of their family which take into account not only the husband's and wife's duties to each other, but also their duties towards their children and society at large. With regard to fertility, the Government recognizes that the final decision and direct responsibility are incumbent upon the heads of family, but it is pointed out that the State is responsible or promoting the transformation of the economic, social and cultural structures in such a way as to encourage suitable decisions and behaviours, and for providing relevant information and properly organized educational courses, as part of the medical services, which provide means which

---

(1) *Lineamientos de política de población en el Perú, op.cit.*.
(2) *Op. cit.*.
(3) *Op. cit.*
(4) *Op. cit.*

104

respect ethical and moral principles and ensure married couples' conscious freedom in the exercise of responsible parenthood." (1)

IV. COMBINING THE RESULTS OF THE STUDY IN PUCALA AND THE "LINES OF EMPHASIS OF POPULATION POLICY IN PERU" IN A POPULATION EDUCATION PROGRAMME

If we base ourselves on the principle that population education is not merely concerned with the individual's sexual behaviour in relation to natality, conception and contraception, but rather that it aims basically to educate the citizen for a better quality of his private life in accordance with the objective requirements of the demographic, social and human development of his region and country, then it will be agreed that both the study prepared by the Institute of Peruvian Studies and the official Government document provide exceptionally important contributions to the organization of any population education programmes.

In the first place, the methodological contribution of the study must be emphasized. The approach adopted clearly identifies the historical, economic, social and cultural causes at the root of the population problems and the effects these have, in their turn, on society. The structural understanding of the phenomenon obtained from this elucidation of causes and consequences illustrates how future work should tackle population questions, particularly at the macrosocial level.

However, at microsocial level too, the study effectively illustrates how it would be possible to investigate the subjective problems involving the equilibrium of the family and the right way to build up a personality through the healthy development of sexuality and intra-family relations, using semi-directive inquiries and autobiographical interviews with the inhabitants themselves.

In connection with the contribution of the present study, therefore, one initial suggestion for educational measures arises : the subject area of this work needs to be examined in greater depth and similar inquiries should be conducted in other regions of the country.

The first step would make for a fuller insight into some of the subjects, such as the original social and mental structures of the native population, and their survival. It would be enlightening, in a population education scheme, to be able to discover, analyse and better understand the underlying potential of native culture, since this may revitalize people's sense of belonging to a set of objective values and increase individual identity. It would also help to increase knowledge of the possible causes of the generation gap which is considered to be one of the most decisively important conflicts highlighted in the study.

Another theme calling for further research is that of the role of the mother in the urban family because of her hybrid image by comparison with her traditional role, and also, as is pointed out in the Government paper, because of the deformation of her image by the mass media, about which the women themselves are rarely aware.

With regard to carrying out research work similar to the present study in other parts of the country, this suggestion arises from the belief that although the sample of the micro-region which has been studied is indeed highly significant, it should not be automatically thought that the values, beliefs, problems and attitudes are identical to those of populations in different social, economic and cultural settings. An evaluation of the points of comparison and contrast between them is a necessary prerequisite for any nationwide population education project.

It should be pointed out at this stage that the ultimate aim of these suggestions for the preparation of such an educational programme and the increase in its scope and content is to gain a sound understanding of population-related problems and needs, as it is this material which, once it has been analysed in the light of the relevant scientific knowledge, will then form the *knowldege base* for the elaboration of *course contents* in formal and informal education.

Phasing the subject of this study and of the "Lineamientos" into the educational system implies considerable alterations to the curricula. To do this, it is first necessary to assess and evaluate the ways in which population questions are already directly and indirectly included in subjects such as history, geography or civics, in the social science field ; in mathematics, biology or physiology in the context of the exact and natural sciences ; or again in the humanities, in subjects such as philosophy, religion or psychology. Then it would be necessary to define the strategies for integrating these new courses in such a way as to ensure that they respond not only to the objectives of the subject into which they have been introduced but also to the particular aims of population education itself, which are largely identical to those explicitly stipulated in the "Lineamientos".

Any *revision of curricula* of the sort mentioned above needs a large informational campaign to sensitize the educational authorities and decision makers at all levels, for it is they who will have to decide on the scope, nature and size of programme of this type, set it into motion and ensure that it is efficently implemented.

Once the above objective and that of curricular revision have been attained, priority must go to *teacher-training*, for, as was pointed out in the study and prescribed in the presidential decree, it is not merely a question of increasing teachers' knowledge in the area, but particularly of making them aware of their own attitudes towards population questions and especially of their inhibitions and fears about teaching sex education.

Here, group discussions between teachers, parents and adolescents – separately or jointly – about the subject of studies like the present one, may be an important point of departure for the individual to gain an understanding of the population problems in his region within the context of his own family and within himself. This study could thus become a basis for *seminars, round tables and discussion groups*.

(1) *Lineamientos de politica de poblacion en el Perú, op. cit.*

Moreover, the results of future research and information campaigns and training programmes in this field could be used as material for courses on population-related issues. For example, the first chapter of the study explains the transformations that have taken place in the socio-economic context of the region, and this in itself is an enlightening account of Peru's economic and social history ; micro-regional demographic studies like the one conducted here may provide exceptionally important information for a subject like human geography, and make for a structural understanding of its population problems.

The outcome of these studies and activities could be properly organized into a *national population education source-book* serving both as a teacher's reference book for the contents of the course and as a methodological guide-book for the teaching-learning process. In this area, one can never stress too often how, when dealing with the issues and conflicts at family and personal levels, any proposals for educational action must emphasize the use of *participatory methods* which are the only really effective solutions in this field, as their specific techniques make it easier for people, particularly adolescents, to express themselves and talk about their own problems, and private life, and as a result, for guidance to be given in their demographic, social and family sphere.

Finally, it is important to underline the fact that although integrating the population subject into educational curricula responds to an objective need, highlighted both by the "Lines of emphasis of population policy in Peru" and by this study, it is in the educational area that it is particularly important. Indeed, the inclusion of population questions drawn from the real-life situations at country, community and individual levels, reinforces the innovatory trends towards the adoption of a student centred and problem solving approach. This interdisciplinary approach is to set up an increasingly close and accurate link between what is studied at school and what the individual experiences within his family and in his country at large.

Socio-cultural case study for population education in Rwanda

Synthesis prepared on the basis of the research material drawn up by Mr Maurice Ntahobari,
Director, National Institute of Pedagogy, Butare, Rwanda.

Population Education Section, Paris

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Pages

FORWORD 117

CHAPTER I: GENERAL PRESENTATION OF RWANDA 119

I. THE COUNTRY AND ITS HISTORY – INTRODUCTION TO THE POPULATION ISSUE 119

II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC DATA 120

1. Economic aggregates 120
2. Agriculture 121
3. Employment 121

III. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA AND POPULATION POLICY 121

IV. DATA CONCERNING THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM 122

CHAPTER II: METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY 129

I. CHOICE OF SAMPLE 129

II. METHODOLOGY APPLIED IN THE STUDY 129

1. Inquiry procedure in a rural commune: Rusumo in the South-East 129
i) the semi-directive interviews 129
ii) the autobiographical interviews 131
2. Inquiry procedure in an urban commune: Nyarugenge and in a rural commune in the North-West: Nyakinama 131

CHAPTER III: RESULTS OF THE INQUIRIES: THE RURAL WORLD AND THE URBAN WORLD 134

PART ONE: THE RURAL WORLD 134

I. PRESENTATION OF THE FIVE COMMUNES – DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES 134

1. Brief description of the five communes 135
1) Rusumo 135
2) Ngarama 135
3) Nyakinama 135
4) Rutsiro 135
5) Kamembe 135
2. The socio-economic system 135

i) Agriculture and stock-rearing and the structure of the productive system 135
ii) Rural development projects 136
3. The socio-political system 136

II. POPULATION DATA 137
1. Demography and its relations with kinship and production systems 137
2. Demography – population awareness 138
i) The demographic data of the society studied – elements from the Ngarama dossier 138
ii) Awareness of population phenomena in Ngarama 139

III. DATA PARTICULARLY CONCERNING POPULATION EDUCATION IN THE SOCIO-CULTURAL SYSTEM OF RWANDA 140
1. Socialization in the socio-familial context and its periphery 140
2. The socio-cultural status of sexuality and its practical consequences 142
3. The religious system and behaviours concerning population problems 143

IV. SCHOOL AND POPULATION 143
1. Socialization: through the school 143
1) Ngarama 143
2) Nyakinama 144
2. Teaching and population education 144
1) Excerpt from the Nyakinama inquiry 144
2) Excerpt from the Rusumo inquiry 145
3) Excerpt from the Kamembe inquiry 146

PART TWO: THE URBAN WORLD 146

I. PRESENTATION OF THE TWO TOWNS AND THE CONTEXTS STUDIED 147
1. The urban commune of Nyarugenge: traditionalism at the centre of change 147
i) Approach to the human realities of the town: population statistics 147
ii) Socio-political organization 147
iii) Social organization 147
2. The urban commume of Ngoma 148

II. POPULATION DATA 148
1. Relations between demography, the kinship system and the urban economic system 148
2. Demography – structure and movements 149

III. SOCIO-CULTURAL DATA CONCERNING POPULATION EDUCATION FOR THE URBAN MILIEU 150
1. Socialization and social participation in the family context 150
2. Sexuality in towns 151
3. Influence of the religious system on behaviours relating to population problems in the urban milieu 152

IV. THE SCHOOL IN THE URBAN MILIEU AND ITS ROLE IN RESPECT OF POPULATION PROBLEMS 152
1. Socialization through the school 152
2. Teaching methods and population education 153

CHAPTER IV: OVERALL INTERPRETATION: THE SOCIAL DYNAMICS AS SHOWN UP BY THE ANALYSIS OF THE STUDY AND THE GENERAL DEFINITION AND GOALS OF POPULATION EDUCATION 154

I. OVERALL SOCIAL DYNAMICS: INTERPRETATION 154

II. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF POPULATION EDUCATION 155

CHAPTER V: TOWARDS WHAT SORT OF POPULATION EDUCATION? 158

I. CONSIDERATIONS AS TO ORIENTATION 158

II. POSSIBLE CHANNELS FOR PROGRAMMES 158
1. The school system 159
2. The out-of-school sector 159

III. PROCESSES, CONTENTS AND METHODS OF POPULATION EDUCATION ... 160
1. Population and development education 160
2. Environmental education 160
3. Family life education 161
4. Education for sexual and affective responsibility 161

TABLES AND DIAGRAMS

Pages

Table I – Population by age group 122

Table II – Structure of the formal educational system .... [illegible]

Table III – Enrolment – Distribution by class 1975-76 126

Table IV – Other out-of-school activities 126

Table V – Organizational chart of the communal training services 128

Map of the Republic of Rwanda 130

Table VI – Inquiry samples

Table VII – Distribution of population by age and sex 138

Table VIII – Comparative table of marriage-related customs 141

Table IX – Social groups and fertility 151

Table X – Analytic table of the social situation 156

Bibliography 162

FOREWORD

The following paper is the synthesis of the documents prepared on the completion of the socio-cultural study carried out in collaboration with the Population Education Section of Unesco by the team of the National Institute of Pedagogy of Butare, headed by Mr. Maurice Ntahobari and comprising Mr. Paulin Muswahili, Mr. Pascal Ndengejeho and Mr. Frédéric Gatera.

The work related to the conduct of the inquiry and the compilation of the dossier giving the general background data concerning the seven communes that had been selected as a representative sample of the socio-cultural situation of present-day Rwanda was shared between the above-mentioned team members. It has not been possible to reproduce the whole of this immensely valuable collection of data for reasons of balance in the present general synthesis. However, these documents will be of particular value as a source of inspiration for the preparation of any operation Population Education Programme for Rwanda.

Mr. Roland Colin, consultant to the Population Education Section of Unesco in Paris, was in charge of preparing the synthesis presented below.

CHAPTER I

GENERAL PRESENTATION OF RWANDA

I. THE COUNTRY AND ITS HISTORY – INTRODUCTION TO THE POPULATION ISSUE

Situated at the heart of the Africa of the Great Lakes some one hundred kilometres south of the Equator, and over 1,200 kilometres, as the crow flies from the eastern African coastline, Rwanda is a small country (26,338 km^2), totally encircled by the continental landspace. The equatorial climate, which is substantially tempered by the country's altitude, is conducive to the production of a great variety of vegetation. Louis de Lacger describes the overall picture of Rwanda as follows : "the lie of the land, similar to that of Abyssinia, gives a general image of an undulating, hilly peneplain, rising slowly from East to West and from South to North, with an average altitude of 1,800m,.... its rounded ridges and pointed peaks rarely rise above 2,300m, it is divided into great compartments by the longitudinal and transversal routes of the major arteries, broken up by innumerable foothills into long narrow hills often flattened at the summit, usually short, and connected up with each other through rugged gaps and passes, each of which bear their own name and attest to their political individuality." Thus, Rwanda, can be likened to a "high-altitude fortress, a spacious, fortified hill-station which the natural glacis, bulwarks and deep or marshy moats have cut off from the centre of Africa and made virtually inaccessible to warring invaders." (1)

As a result, human settlement occurred in a virtually generalized sprinkling of scattered habitats on the upper parts of the hillsides and out of the apparent disorder, the hills grew to be the basic unit of the country's social and political organization.

This system of settlement is highly uniform throughout this eastward-sloping country, descending as it does from the "Zaire-Nile chain" still covered with primary forests and close to Lake Kivu, with its summit line varying between 2,500 and 3,000 metres (lower than the dozen great volcanoes running alond the Uganda-Zaire border, culminating in the Karisimbi at 4,506 m), down to the "low-lying" plains of Kagera, bordering on Tanzania, at an altitude of 1,400 m. Geographers distinguish three levels here – the land of the high mountains, the land of the high plateaux and that of the sloping plains, but it is difficult to draw the line precisely between them.

The predominant feature is the luxuriant, humid and gullied abundance of this "country of a thousand hills", whose relatively homogenous ecosystem is a match for the remarkably uniform socio-cultural system. One single original language, Kinyarwanda, part of the Bantu group, which is shared by three ethnic groups whose relationships are marked by alternate periods of confrontation and acculturation has been the binding factor behind the present-day movement of national construction, which comes at the end of a history heavily marked by colonization.

More than two thousand years ago, a wave of settlement of Bahutu agriculturists and holders of the iron technique organized in small agrarian kingdoms, came as one of the currents of the great wave of Bantu migration from the original core of this great African cultural unit which ethno-historians have situated at the southern confines of present-day Cameroun and Nigeria.

The Bahutu arrived to find the Batwa already settled there – the offsprings of a cross-breed between a black people, probably paleonigritic and the pigmies, with the pigmy mark dominant. These hunting people lived in precarious equilibrium with the farming newcomers who cleared the forests "with iron and fire".

In the 16th century, the nomadic, pastoral Hamite Batutsi, coming probably from the present-day countries of Somalia and Ethiopia, moved in with their flocks into the agrarian Hutu kingdoms. They gradually built up ties of economic alliance with the Bahutu by entrusting them with part of their stock in exchange for a fee (the "ubuhake" contract). This arrangement allowed them to effect a thorough infiltration of the socio-political establishment and turn power to their advantage. Little by little they took over control of the State institutions by integrating into them and at the same time by building up a unification movement. This was so successful that by the late 19th century, at the time of colonial conquest, Rwanda had become monarchy under the authority of the Mwami and other dignitaries, all members of the Tutsi ethnic group, and a relationship of serfdom had been established through a generalized system of concession of the livestock to the peasant Hutu in return for bond-services to the Tutsi lords. The Batwa, except for the fraction of the group which took refuge in the residual forests, constitute a people exploited by all and sundry. One remarkable fact is that the Bantu culture of the Hutu peasantry has been adopted by all components of this highly structured and hierarchical society.

(1) Lacger, L. de, *Le Rwanda ancien et moderne*, Kabgayi, 1959, page 10.

European influence in East Africa began with the arrival of Catholic missionaries of the company of the White Fathers in 1879. However, Rwanda was affected only as from 1900 although British and German commercial companies had been showing interest in the region already for over twenty years.

In an attempt to mitigate the violence of the competition for the imperial sharing of Africa, the 1885 Berlin Conference laid down the principles by which "spheres of influence" could be set up by the colonizing powers.

In 1890, German East Africa was formed from a base at Dar-es-Salaam. After an initial reconnaissance in 1894, the colonial occupation of Rwanda took place between 1897 and 1899, with the imposition of a "protectorate" over the Rwandese monarchy. The German civilian administration over the territory was set up in 1908 whilst the Catholic missionaries extended their influence. By 1905, the missions had already opened up some ten schools and were extending their social work. German colonization has left the memory of a harsh power which was at times not without connivance with the political practices of the Tutsi monarchy.

Germany's defeat in the 1914-1918 war led to a change of colonial master. The Belgian army which occupied the Rwandese territory in 1916 set up a military administration and handed it over to the civilians in 1926. The League of Nations gave Belgium the mandate to administer Rwanda and Burundi. The Belgian colonial system which was marked by a close alliance between the Administration and the missions (which were responsible particularly for the most important part of the educational apparatus), respected the monarchy and its institutions and therefore the preeminence of the Tutsi, whilst at the same time keeping tight control over them.

The decolonization movement which developed throughout Africa gave rise to the emergence in 1957 of a Hutu protest movement (the Bahutu manifesto) in Rwanda which led to the creation of a nationalist party, the Parmehutu in 1959. In the same year, bloody clashes broke out between the Tutsi and the Hutu. Gradually the Tutsi monarchy bowed down before the upsurge of democratic sentiment that was being spurred on by the Parmehutu. The Republic was proclaimed in January 1961. Independence was gained in July 1962.

Since then, Rwanda has had to face difficult problems of development. After flaring up several times, tension between ethnic groups has now died down considerably. This predominantly agricultural country (96 per cent of the population lives in the rural area) experiences high population pressure (average density 183 inhabitants per square kilometre with an annual growth rate of between 2.6 and 2.9 per cent, depending on the estimate). The rural exodus is gaining momentum, particularly towards Kigali, the capital, whose population has swelled from 10,000 in 1965 to some 100,000 today. Per capita income is one of the lowest in the world ($130 in 1977). In these conditions, population problems take on particular importance.

Marked by a cultural tradition which gives fertility a central place in the system of values adhered to by the entire population, Rwanda is having difficulty in setting out a population policy adapted to development needs. It is therefore understandable that the definition of a population education policy should be both important and complex. Rwanda is determined to carry through far-reaching educational reforms. This should provide a relevant framework for developing educational activities bearing on population questions.

A number of earlier studies reveal one positive : element : the presence of significant socio-cultural homogeneity (even though tainted with local differences) in the rural world. This both necessitates and justifies the choices made by the Rwanda team which compiled the background data for the dossier of the study presented here. The basic socio-political organization of present-day Rwanda, closely following the social structure of the "hills", comprises communes which democratically run their own affairs in a partnership with the State (having replaced the old system of "sub-chiefs" of the monarchic regime). The study was conducted in seven communes. Five of them represent the rural world, situated at the different levels of the ecosystem. The other two cover the significant part of the truly urbanized areas : Kigali, the capital and Butare, the university town, and thus encompass all the social and cultural contradictions possible.

Before going on to present the results of the inquiry in two major sections – rural and urban – which are expected to shed some light on population issues and to stimulate the development of population education, we will briefly outline the basic data bearing on the socio-economic, demographic and educational situation.

II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC DATA (1)

1. The economic aggregates

The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) increased by 1 per cent per annum between 1960 and 1977. The GDP per capita was estimated at $130 for 1977. The rate of growth of the GDP is considerably lower than the population growth rate.

The agriculture sector, in a predominant position in the national economy, is in a state of virtual stagnation. Ninety-six per cent of the population lives by agriculture which accounts for 64 per cent of the GDP and 78 per cent of exports in value. Coffee alone represents 62 per cent of exports. The non-monetarized economy covers 40 per cent of the GDP.The trade balance is in heavy deficit (in 1975, the coverage rate of imports by exports was 44 per cent).

The regular State budget totalled 4.4 billion Rwandese Francs in 1975 and the development budget 433 million RF (US$ 1 = approx. 92 RF).

---

(1) From information supplied in the *Report on Development in the World* published by the IBRD in August 1979 on the basis of statistics collected in 1977, Washington D.C., 1979.

Underground resources in Rwanda are limited (except for a few methane exploitations). The country's enclosure and the insufficiency of the domestic market (due to the low GDP per capita and the size of the non-monetary sector) also limit industrial development possibilities. This means that, with its hard-working population, favourable climate and relatively fertile land, the country's agricultural development is the most important sector for its future. However, in view of the shortage of new arable land, only an increase in production per hectare will ensure the progress of the agricultural sector.

2. Agriculture

Agriculture is mainly devoted to the cultivation of food crops and farming methods are related to the social structures. The production unit is the restricted family based round the *rugo* (family enclosure). Land ownership is very fragmented. The average plot covers 1.1 hectare (varying between "small" plots of 0.8 ha. and "big" ones of 3 ha.) The climate, with its double rainy season, makes it possible to grow two crops every year.

The main agricultural product is banana used for local consumption (mainly transformed into beer). Then come beans, sweet potatoes, maize and sorghum.

Only 10 per cent of the total agricultural production is marketed. Export crops include coffee (24,000 tonnes), tea (4,000 t) and pyrethrum (1,800 t) (1975 figures). Also produced is sugar (900 t).

Stock-raising is very widespread, but the livestock is used mostly for social reasons (particularly for the dowry) and not economically exploited.

Popular banks have recently been set up to support the co-operative movement which is beginning to develop substantially. One other important effort in rural development concerns the "peasant co-operative programmes" inaugurated in 1953 which is directed to reclaim and develop unoccupied land into a series of production units of 1.5 hectares each. In 1975, these programmes involved more than 48,000 families.

Agricultural policy seeks to find the elusive "happy medium" between increasing food crop production to match population growth, and extending commercial crops to increase the monetary income of the individuals and the State and to improve the balance of payments situation. It would be inappropriate to treat this problem as anything but a dilemma.

The most crucial problem is the *shortage of land in relation to population pressure.*

The total amount of potential arable land is 1,250,000 ha., of which the most fertile areas – 900,000 ha. – are already being exploited, the remainder being used mainly as grazing land. Studies have shown that the available land space, on the basis of an average plot of 1.1 hectare – the minimum to suport an average family of 4 or 5 persons – would allow the installation of 320,000 new farm units, that is 1.5 million people. This population growth should peak out before 1987, on the basis of *an average annual growth rate of 2.8 per cent*. Additional land settlement work on the marshlands should make it possible to secure a solution to the problem till 1990 at most.

The 1977-1981 Plan issued by the Ministry of Planning in 1976 sets out to slow down population growth through relevant population policies.

It is a fact that for want of market, energy supplies and raw materials at competitive prices, *the industrial sector* cannot provide any satisfactory relief in the forseeable future to the employment problem.

3. Employment

The active population, estimated in 1977 at 2,250,000 persons (between the ages of 15 and 64), represented 51 per cent of the total population, with an average annual growth rate of 2.5 per cent. 92 per cent of this active population is tied to the land.

The secondary and tertiary sectors accounted for 5-6 per cent of the total in 1976, of which 35 per cent were employed in the public and 27 per cent in the private sector. In 1976, domestic personnel constituted 12 per cent of the total number of jobs in these sectors, considered as "modern".

In the face of these difficult problems, the 1977-1981 Plan sets out four priority activities :

- "to satisfy the food requirements of the population by diversifying and expanding agriculture and stock-rearing ;
- to promote better use of human resources ;
- to improve individual and collective living conditions;
- to improve Rwanda's position in relation to the outside world by developing exports and replacing imports with home-produced goods."

We have also seen the importance attached to a population policy aimed at slowing down population growth. It is as yet too early to speculate about the practical measures that would be envisaged to implement these choices. A relevant educational policy will have a role to play. In particular, population education, whose scope is much wider than the mere achievement to these basic objectives, represents one of the important approaches for the medium and the long term. It should be ensured, however, that it takes into account, in addition to the socio-economic difficulties, all the obstacles identified by the socio-cultural analyses.

III. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA AND POPULATION POLICY

The Rwanda authorities are at the initial stage of defining a population policy. The 1977-1981 Plan explains it in these terms. "Rwanda can not improve the standard of living of its people if the annual rate of population growth remains unchanged at an estimated 2.6 per cent. The lack of additional land necessary for the development of agricultural activities in line with the ever increasing requirements excludes any attitude of laisser-faire which would inevitably lead to a severe crisis. Therefore, determined effort should be made to reduce the rate of population growth and take measures to tackle the problem as soon as possible, for it takes a long time for the effects of such a campaign to be felt. Action should be envisaged in several stages : firstly, research, over a period of two or three years, should lead to the establishment of a national programme. An experiment in birth spacing would be set up in Kigali within the framework of this first stage. A second stage of implementation would begin towards the year 1980 and would extend the action throughout the entire country." (1)

The background demographic data for these decisions are as follows :

- Total population : 4,819 317 inhabitants according to the General Census of 15 August 1978.
- Overall density : 183 inhabitants per km^2.
- Density in relation to arable land area : approximately 385 inhabitants per km^2.

The population by age group on 31 December 1975 was as shown in table I below :

TABLE I : *POPULATION BY AGE GROUP*

0 - 4 years	526 800
5 - 9 years	571 600
10 - 14 years	547 100
15 - 19 years	500 300
20- 64 years	1 971 800
65 years and over	116 100
Total	4 233 700

Source : General Department of Documentation and General Statistics, Ministry of Planning.

The under-20 population totals 2,145,800 pesons, i.e. about 50 per cent of the total population. The rising proportion of young people puts steadily increasing pressure on the employment situation.

The average annual rate of growth as been estimated at 2.8 per cent (the above-mentioned World Bank report gives a gross birth rate of 51 per thousand and a gross death rate of 19 per thousand for 1979).

Average life expectancy at birth in 1977 was estimated at 46 years. The fertility index is 6.9. It should also be noted that the rate of urbanization is 4 per cent (1975 estimate).

It is very difficult to specify accurately the *problem of migration* in the current situation. During the Belgian colonial period, temporary migration was organised to provide cheap labour for the Katanga mining complex. Unorganised but a steadier emigration of Rwandans was observed in the Kivu area and is probably still the case today. There has also been a certain amount of migration towards Tanzania. A Government-controlled emigration policy has been started again as a result of the development of relations with other African countries.

As a matter of indication, we shall end by presenting the most commonly accepted population distribution in terms of the various ethnic groups, by stressing, however, the difficulty involved in drawing precise lines, particularly between the Hutu and Tutsi groups.

Bahutu	90 per cent
Batutsi	9 per cent
Batwa	1 per cent.

IV. DATA CONCERNING THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The Rwandese educational system was obliged to follow the structures inherited from the Belgian colonials for a start and then make the necessary improvements and modifications to suit the national construction objectives and the development policy of an independent country.

The school and out-of-school sectors need to be distinguished. The Ministry of National Education is responsible for the four traditional levels of any education system : primary, post-primary, secondary and higher.

Primary education in principle lasts 6 years and admits children aged 7 and over. Teacher shortages and a lack of facilities have led to the adoption of the double timetable system for the first three years, thus shortening the actual average duration of primary education to four and a half years.

The global enrolment ratio for the primary level in 1977 (source : IBRD) was reportedly 61 per cent :

– enrolment ratio for boys	66 per cent
– enrolment ratio for girls	57 per cent

It is to be noted that the gap between boys' and girls' enrolment is noticeably smaller than in the majority of African countries.

Normally, primary education leads on to the secondary level and does not therefore, in itself represent a perfect coherent whole enabling the student to become part of society and active life. Yet only 7.4 per cent of students in the last year of primary school go on to secondary level (the proportion of secondary school enrolments in relation to the total number of pupils entering primary school is of the order of 2 per cent).

Efforts have therefore been made to set up a *post-primary system* to take charge of young people's transition towards economic and social integration. Such is the role of the Centres of Rural and Craft Education of Rwanda (CERAR), for boys, and the Family Sections, for girls. The official objectives of these institutions are "to train young people so that they become more productive and better informed members of their rural environment, more receptive to progress, eager to improve their own and their neighbours' living conditions".

---

(1) Ministry of Planning *La Planification au Rwanda. Le plan 1977-1981 abrégé.* November 1976, pages 52-53.

However, these centres only catered for 9 per cent of primary school-leavers in 1976. The course lasts three years and there is no doubt that the desire to return to the longer study cycle and escape from the rural world is still strong despite education's efforts to adapt. This is one of the reasons why the Rwanda authorities have decided to implement a far-reaching reform of education, which is as yet only in the preparatory stage.

Present-day *secondary education* comprises a common core lasting three years, followed by three different streams : two lasting two and three years respectively and providing technical and professional training, and one academic stream of four years, the sole channel through to higher education.

Higher education is dispensed at the Rwandese National University at Butare. The National Institute of Pedagogy trains secondary-school teachers. There is also a Higher Military Academy.

The "Structure of the formal educational system" is illustrated in Table II below. Table III presents the situation of school enrolments and distribution by class for the year 1975-76.

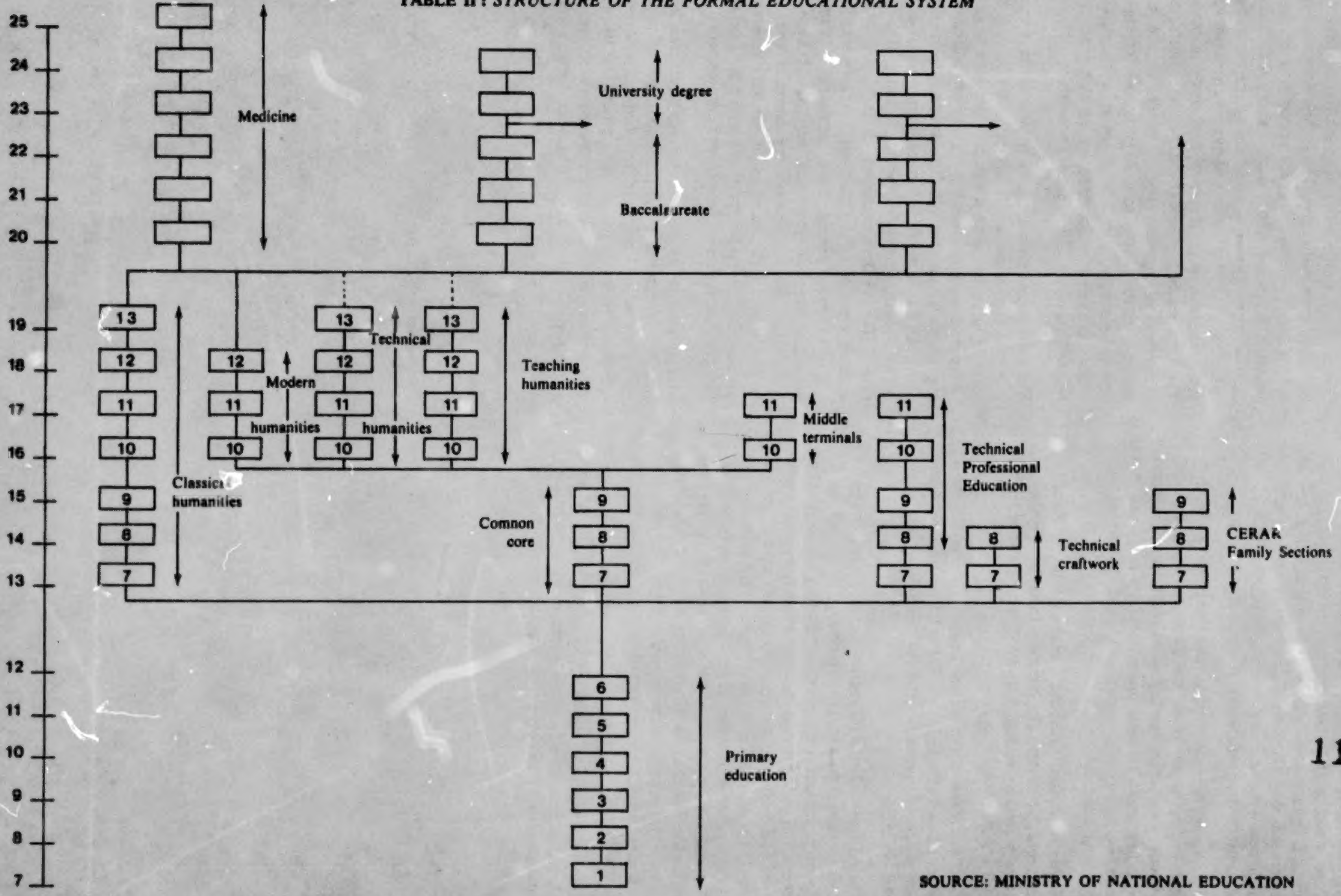
The educational reform, the principle of which has now been accepted by the Government, aims to set up an eleven-year education system, compulsory for all. The objective will be to provide for a real effort towards development and *bridge the gap between the school and the milieu.* The precise definition and implementation of the new system poses a number of problems. It would appear worthwhile to put forward the hypothesis that population education would be included in the reformed system and in the meanwhile experimental activities and pilot schemes would be continued until their actual implementation.

The importance of out-of-school education in Rwanda Should be underlined, for it also represents a particularly advantageous framework for population education. Interesting initiatives can already be seen in the subjects taught in the CERARs : Rural economy and co-operative action. Study of the milieu, general agriculture and protection of crops, with a series of specialized courses dealing with food crop cultivation. The same observation is valid for the Family Sections, where young girls are given instruction in Home Economics, Family Life Education (family morals, civics, child care, pre-natal hygiene, education of children, practical hygiene, personal hygiene, social hygiene, good manners) and study of the milieu. The first national seminar on youth projects, held in December 1975, drew up an "Inventory of training activities in Rwanda" listing 27 projects affecting out-of-school education, particularly social work, rural community organization, community development, etc. (See below Table IV : Out-of-school activities).

The most urgent problem is the co-ordination of these various training activities. It appears that an appropriate solution has been found which provides for a large degree of decentralization through the creation of a lifelong training service with a communal training centre in each commune. All this is organized in the framework of an overall policy detailed in the "Community Action Plan" (1975) (See Table V: Organizational chart of the communal training services). The Community Action Plan provides for an extensive programme of professional training for personnel directly or indirectly involved with such lifelong training at both communal, departmental and national level. The plan is indeed an ambitious one if one takes into account the current illiteracy rate which is 77 per cent (67 per cent for men and 86 per cent for women).

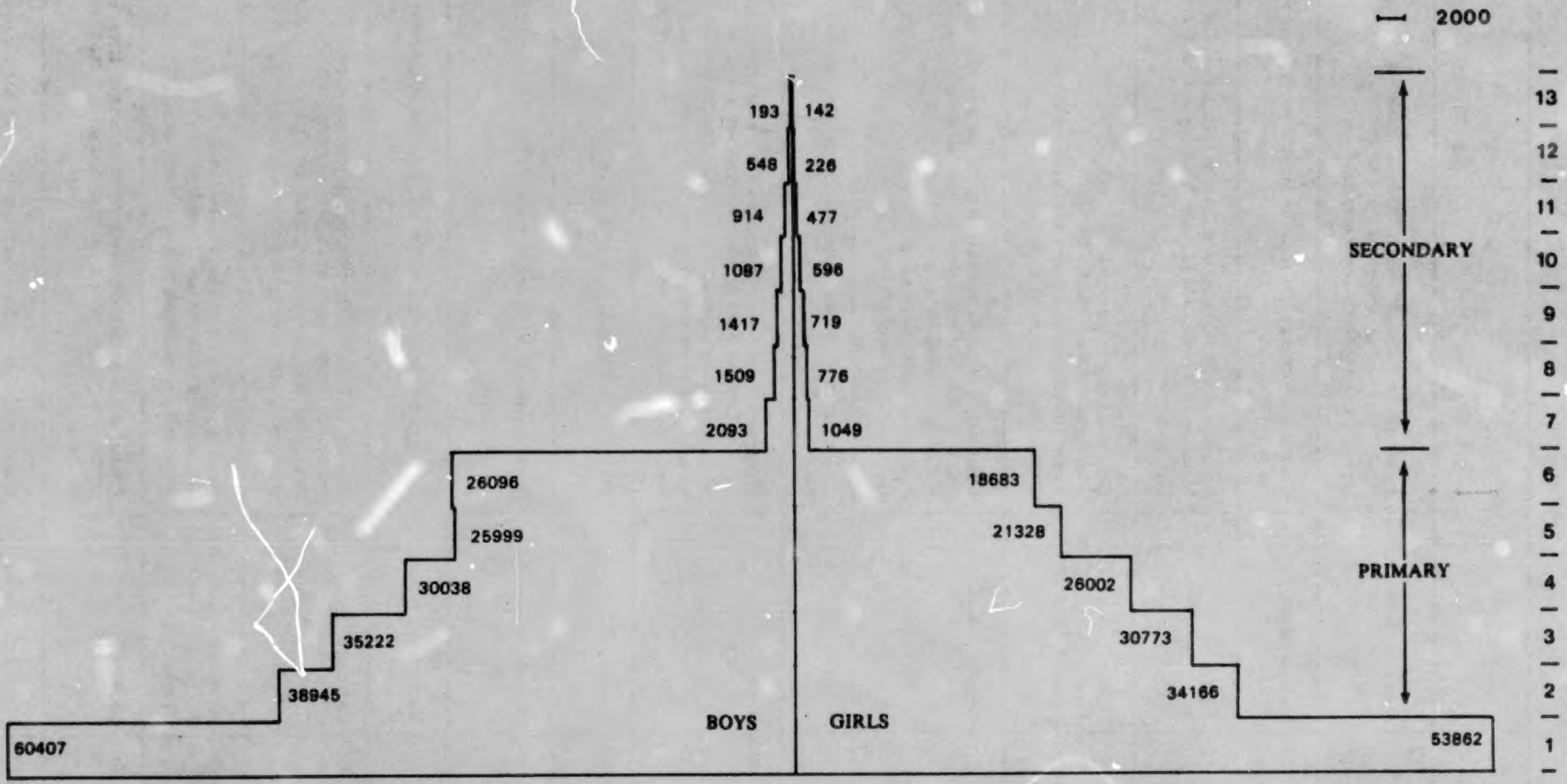
Having considered all these various structures, it is now possible to determine the place and role of population education on the strength of the information provided and the issues raised in the dossiers, which will be presented below after a brief description of the methodology used in the inquiries on the basis of which the dossiers were compiled.

TABLE II : *STRUCTURE OF THE FORMAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM*


25
24
23
22
21
20
19
18
17
16
15
14
13
12
11
10
9
8
7
Medicine
University degree
Baccalaureate
13
12
11
10
9
8
7
Classical humanities
Modern humanities
Technical humanities
Teaching humanities
Middle terminals
Technical Professional Education
Common core
Technical craftwork
CERAR Family Sections
6
5
4
3
2
1
Primary education

SOURCE: MINISTRY OF NATIONAL EDUCATION

TABLE III : ***ENROLMENT – DISTRIBUTION BY CLASS 1975|76***



Source: Educational statistics, Ministry of National Education.

TABLE IV : *OTHER OUT-OF-SCHOOL ACTIVITIES*

PROJECT NAME	PLACE	AIM	DATE OF INITIATION
1. Institute Saint Charles	Gasagara (Kigali)	Industrial and artistic enamel ceramic, modelling ; masonry, botany, stock-rearing, accounting in the art and craft industry so as to promote co-operatives in rural milieu.	15-1-1961
2. Community development in Kanage	Murunda (Gisenyi)	General development of the region to improve the population's living conditions.	1965
3. Kibuye agricultural project	Kibuye	Improvement of agricultural production and promotion of its value. Mobilization of peasants to improve their living conditions through their own action.	1965
4. MESSORWA (Rwandese students social service movement	Official college of Kigali, School group, Shyogwe, UNR IPN.	General training of members Training and literacy courses for youth Health co-operation and action with local authorities Contribution to social development.	24-10-1965
5. Association of Young Catholic Agriculturalists	Nyundo (Gisenyi)	Development of young agriculturalists in the collective spirit Action to counter youth ignorance and deliquence Household training for girls Training in correct accounting Human and spiritual reflexion.	24-10-1965
6. School of masons and carpenty	Rushaki	On completion of training, students receive the necessary tools for a successful life.	1967
7. Training centre for scouts	Butare	Enable scouts who have completed the 6th year of primary school, but who have not been admitted to secondary school, to receive additional training to prepare them for life. This additional training aims to build up the boy's taste and skills in agricultural and craft work, his inventiveness, sense of initiative and responsibility.	29-9-1970
8. Rural youth training centre	Butamwa (Kigali)	Train agriculturalists with good craft sense	1971
9. Rural Animation and Craftwork Centre (CARA)	Nyabikenke Kanyanza Parish	Train peasants in a number of skills	1972
10. CARA Gahanda	Kanombe Commune (Kigali)	Train good citizens equipped for life. Establish co-operatives.	1972
11. Rural Training and Animation Centre, Nwezi	Cyangugu	Awaken the local inhabitants to the real problems of the region and the country, encourage them to take over responsibility for their own community development, train for each "hill" voluntary organizers to lead meetings and train farmers in a range of skills	11-9-1972
12. General Animation Centre	Nyabimata (Butare) Kivu Commune (Gikongoro)	Increase people's awareness of their resources Increase production through intensive farming Raise living standards through community action	1973
13.Rural Animation and Craftwok Centre of Kamonyi (CARAK)	Kamonyi	Pratical and theoretical training in agriculture, small stock-rearing, masonry, carpentry, management of co-operatives, group organization, evangelization.	2-5-1974
14. Association of Choristers of Mubuga	Gishyita Commune (Kibuye)	Multi-purpose project for general human, moral, spiritual, cultural, social and economic training. Brickmaking, tile-work, market gardening.	6-11-1974
15. Small model farm	Kibeho (Butare)	Training the young in rational stock-raising	1974

PROJECT NAME	PLACE	AIM	DATE OF INITIATION
16. Culture and Leisure Club (Rafiki)	Nyamirambo (Kigali)	Extra training for workers. Leisure and sports activities. Literacy programmes. Lifelong education.	1974
17. Agricultural Credit Bank	Kibayi-Muganza Commune (Butare)	Encourage rearing of small livestock to increase young people's income.	1975
18. Culture and Leisure Centre for Young Workers (JOCF)	Kiyovu (Kigali)	Cultural training and leisure activities for young workers	1975
19. Rwandese Association for Young Scientists	Butare	Free education from volunteers to young stock-raising and agricultural co-operative associates	
20. Operational Rural Craftwork Centre of Rwanda (OCARR)	Musange, Huye Commune; Busoro, Muyira Commune (Butare)	Varied craftwork training to secure a living for craftsmen grouped together in co-operatives in the hills without needing to turn to agriculture.	Musange: 1974 Busoro: 1975
21. Training for the Youth in Construction	Mugesera Commune	Craftwork training for communal needs	1972
22. Kirarambogo Health Centre	Kirarambogo	The health centre has included literacy courses in its activities: one-hour classes three times a week	1972
23. Gihindamuyaga Cultural Centre	Gihindamuyaga	Literacy classes	
24. Rural Women's Training Centre	Save (Butare)	Rural household taining for girls : agriculture, cooking, nutritution, sewing, hygiene, preventive care. Participants spend a day at the centre twice a week.	1968
25. Rural Women's Centre	Musasa Commune (Kigali)	Training in agriculture and stock-rearing for young girls leaving primary school : five-month training periods followed up by refresher courses.	Feb. 1976
26. Extension of the Butare University	Butare	Language courses (French, Kinyarwanda, English, Kiswahili)	1975
27. African Institute for Economic and Social Development (INADES)	Abidjan (Ivory Coast)	Correspondance courses for rural development and personnel training. 1,200 persons enroled in Rwanda. Part of the rural development courses has been translated into Kinyarwanda	

Source : First national seminar of heads of youth projects, December 1975.
Inventory of Training activities in Rwanda. Project RWA/73/002, December 1976.
INADES : Report on the literacy training session, January 1977.

TABLE V: *ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF THE COMMUNAL TRAINING SERVICES*

TRAINING SERVICES

COMMUNAL AUTHORITIES

- The Burgomaster
- The communal councillors
- The hill chiefs

COMMUNAL LIFELONG TRAINING SERVICE (SCFP)

- *Director:*
  Communal organizer
  Apart from job in Communal Animation Unit, he directs the SCFP, and supervises its administration and management.
- *Outside instructors:*
  President of the Court – Primary School Inspector – Medical Assistant
- *Technical instructors:*
  Social worker – youth leader – agricultural assistant – veterinary assistant – co-operative leader – health officer
- *Students:*
  Heads of team – they are the elected representatives of the teams (10 members) divided into 4 categories: family heads; mothers; young boys; young girls. Trained at the Communal Training Centre or the Social Hostel they pass on the training they receive to the rest of the team.

PRIMARY AND POST-PRIMARY EDUCATION FOR RURAL ENVIRONMENTS

- Participation by teaching staff mainly during school holidays
- The inspector can be requested to give courses at the SCFP as outside instructor.

PLACES OF TRAINING FOR HEADS OF TEAM (CE) ON TRAINING LEAVE

COMMUNAL ANIMATION UNIT (CCA)

- Communal organizer, director of the SCFP
- Social assistant, director of the Social Hostel
- Youth leader

Their jobs

- advise communal authorities on activities of animation
- sensitize, mobilize and alert the public

Communal Training Centre (CCS)

- The students: CE men
  CE boys
- Duration of training:
  1 week every four months
- Training programme:
  Fathers: agriculture, stock-rearing, basic socio-economic training, literacy courses, initiation in craftwork
  Boys: same plus construction, wood and metalwork, sport.

Social Hostels (FS) – chief locality, commune

- The students: CE mothers
  CE girls
- Duration of training:
  1 day per fortnight as women have difficulty in absenting themselves from their housework.
- Training programme:
  Mothers: agriculture, stock-rearing basic socio-economic training, home arts, literacy training.
  Girls: same plus weaving embroidery, sport.

IN THE HILLS

Officials of lifelong education must visit teams in their hills regularly. Visits are to be made by:

- all responsible technicians
- agricultural supervisers
- supervisers of departments and companies operating in the area
- heads of social hostels
- young people from the CERAR and the Family Sections
- primary school teachers
- secondary school students and students on holiday for literacy training.

Source: *Community action plan*, of Planning Ministry.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The Rwanda team in charge of the study consisting of members of the National Institute of Pedagogy in Butare, rigorously applied the suggested research outline in carrying out the case study, except for a few unavoidable adaptations.

I. CHOICE OF SAMPLE

It has already been mentioned above that the situation in Rwanda is marked by a large degree of socio-cultural uniformity in the rural areas. In such a context, the representativity of the sample chosen can hardly be doubted. It should be noted that the team has taken the greatest care to specify all the parameters identifying each of the elements of the sample. In the case of the urban world, however, the situation was noticeably more complicated. The research team justifies the choice of sample thus :

Seven communities have been studied (see map below). Two are urban, Nyarugenge and Ngoma, and the remaining five rural : Kamembe, Rutsiro, Nyakinama, Ngarama and Rusumo. The commune of *Nyarugenge*, seat of the capital city, *Kigali*, is subjected to particular socio-cultural and demographic problems. The population of the capital (over 100,000) shows an average annual growth rate of 8.9 per cent which means that it is doubling every ten years. Latest census figures (1978) point to an acceleration – the most recent annual growth rate indicated was 32 per cent, although it is imposible as yet to know whether this was due to some coincidence of factors or the sign of a lasting trend. The role of immigration is obviously decisive in this accelerating growth. As a consequence very soon these new immigrants, most of whom are of rural origin encounter problems of employment, housing, adaptation and survival.

The urban commune of *Ngoma*, seat of the University town of Butare, has relatively fewer social problems than Nyarugenge, mainly because of the low rate of growth of its population. Nevertheless, the concentration of educational establishments in the area has a significant impact on the socio-cultural behaviour of the surrounding populations.

The five rural communities – Kamembe in the South-West of the country, Rutsiro on the edge of Lake Kivu, Nyakinama in the North-West, Ngarama in the North-East and Rusumo in the East, – were selected for the sample either because of the particular problems they face as a result of their geographical situation (case of Kamembe and Rutsiro), or because of the existence of the major development projects in their communes (case of Nyakinama and Ngarama), or again because of their cultural originality (case of Rusumo).

II. METHODOLOGY APPLIED IN THE STUDY

The research outline adopted by the team (1), involved the *constitution of a dossier* of background data compiled according to an indicative plan, with the help of primary informants ; and a *series of anthropological inquiries* organized along two approaches :

- *semi-directive inquiries*, conducted with samples from three groups – adolescents, parents, teachers – on population questions, to shed light on the general problems facing population education ; and
- *a number of autobiographical interviews* so as to fit the items of information collected from the informants' experiences together into a more coherent overall analysis.

It is believed important to present some illustrations of the methodology employed in the study as reported by interviewers in 2 communes. These practical details may not only help in clarifying the interpretation and understanding the results, but also serve as comparative reference for any future studies of the socio-cultural context in which population education may have a useful and relevant role.

1. Inquiry procedure in a rural commune : Rusumo in the South-East

In order of presentation, the semi-directive anthropological inquiries will be examined first, and then the autobiographical interviews.

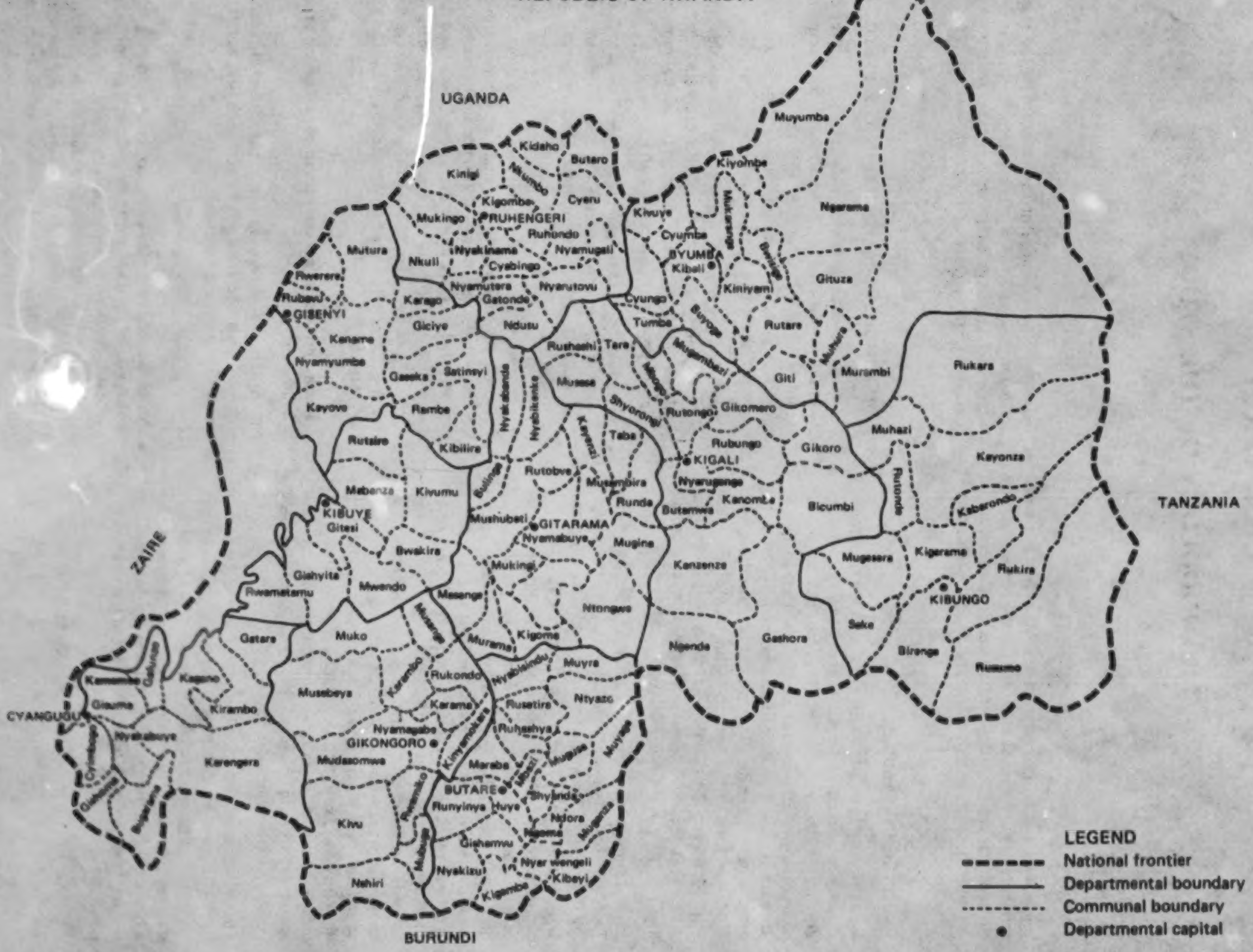
i) The semi-directive interviews

The conversations held both before and during the preparation of the dossier with the primary informants, in this case the burgomaster, the veterinary surgeon, the agronomist, a midwife and the area chief teacher in charge of education in the commune of Rusumo, guided the selection of parents, teachers and adolescents for the interviews within the commune under study four administrative

---

(1) Following the research outline detailed in the general introduction to this publication.

REPUBLIC OF RWANDA


UGANDA
TANZANIA
ZAIRE
BURUNDI
Kidaho
Butaro
Kinigi
Nkumba
Kigombe
Cyeru
Mukingo
RUHENGERI
Ruhondo
Nyakinama
Nyamugali
Nkuli
Cyabingo
Nyamutera
Gatonde
Nyarutovu
Mutura
Rwerere
Rubavu
GISENYI
Kanama
Karago
Giciye
Ndusu
Nyamyumba
Gaseke
Satinsyi
Kayove
Ramba
Kibilira
Rutsiro
Nyakabanda
Nyabikenke
Mabanza
Kivumu
Bulinga
Rutobwe
KIBUYE
Gitesi
Bwakira
Mushubati
GITARAMA
Nyamabuye
Gishyita
Mwendo
Rwamatamu
Mukingi
Masango
Ntongwe
Gatare
Muko
Musenge
Murama
Kigoma
Kagano
Kamembe
Gafunzo
Gisuma
Kirambo
Musebeya
Karambo
Rukondo
Karama
Nyabisindu
Muyira
Ntyazo
Rusatira
Ruhashya
CYANGUGU
Cyimbogo
Nyakabuye
Karengera
Nyamagabe
GIKONGORO
Mudasomwa
Kinyamakara
Maraba
Mugusa
Muyaga
BUTARE
Mbazi
Shyanda
Runyinya
Huye
Gishoma
Bugarama
Kivu
Rwamiko
Ndora
Gishamvu
Mubuga
Nyakizu
Nyaruhengeri
Muganza
Kigembe
Kibayi
Nshili
Kiyombe
Muyumba
Kivuye
Cyumba
Mukarange
Ngarama
BYUMBA
Kibali
Bwisige
Kiniyami
Gituza
Cyungo
Tumba
Buyoga
Rutare
Rushashi
Tare
Mugambazi
Muhura
Musasa
Mbogo
Giti
Murambi
Rukara
Shyorongi
Rutongo
Gikomero
Kayenzi
Taba
Rubungo
Muhazi
Gikoro
KIGALI
Nyarugenge
Kayonza
Musambira
Runda
Kanombe
Bicumbi
Rutonde
Butamwa
Kabarondo
Mugina
Kanzenze
Mugesera
Kigarama
Rukira
KIBUNGO
Ngenda
Gashora
Sake
Birenge
Rusumo
LEGEND
National frontier
Departmental boundary
Communal boundary
Departmental capital

sectors were selected : Gatarama, Nyabitare, Kigina and Nyarubuye, for three main reasons

- these sectors are inhabited mainly by peasant populations who manifest a certain degree of reticence in accepting modernism ;
- Belief in occult forces and their all-powerfulness, despite the existence of Christian churches, is very much alive in these sectors (for example, people believe in the existence of bird-men who are attributed to possess supernatural powers such as to cause sterility in a woman or on the contrary to stimulate fertility, etc.) ;
- Finally, these administrative sectors are currently receiving heavy Government investment (for example, the agro-pastoral "Bugesera East Gisaka – Migongo" project aimed at modernizing and stepping up agricultural and pastoral production in the region).

In the light of these three elements, an attempt can be made to examine how changes occur in the mentality and behaviour of the peasant, the adolescent and the teacher living in a community into which new production models and new ways of life are being introduced.

After having selected the administrative sectors and sample for the inquiry (26 persons in all ; 14 parents, 6 teachers, 6 adolescents), an inquiry partner had to be found who knew the community under study thoroughly and was likely to show interest in this sort of inquiry. This partner was found in the person of a sixth year primary school teacher in Kigina. After explaining to him the main objectives of the inquiry and the methodology to be applied in the semi-directive interviews, the field work among the various target groups was started.

The *parents* with whom interviews were held all live in the four aforementioned sectors. Relatively alert farming couples were chosen (illiterate or otherwise) who would be capable of understanding the scope of the questions and answering them with the greatest possible ease and openness. These parents were either political figures in the hills, or catechists in charge of the religious structures in their ecclesiastical districts, or simply peasants enjoying a certain repute and respect among their fellow inhabitants. All the parents interviewed naturally had school-age children.

The *adolescents* interviewed were chosen in only two sectors : Kigina and Nyarubuye. Some of them were undergoing training in secondary schools outside the commune, others were in the "family sections" (craft schools for girls referred to earlier where courses last for three years after primary education). Finally, the others had recently left primary school and were working in agriculture or other sectors.

The *teachers* were also selected from the sectors of Kigina and Nyarubuye. One of them taught at the family school of Nyarubuye, and the others in the fifth and sixth years of primary school. All of them had considerable teaching experience.

The working language used to conduct the studies was the mother tongue, *Kinyarwanda*, spoken fluently by the parents, adolescents and teachers alike. Each interview was started with a short introduction to the aims of the study given in the mother tongue. It was observed that parents were very receptive to the idea of having the interviewers visit them and answering their questions. This favourable welcome was due to the fact that the interviews offered them the first ever opportunity to talk on subjects which were very rarely dealt with, such as demography, sexuality or initiation, and of whose importance they were acutely aware.

ii) *The autobiographical interviews*

In order to make the best use of the material collected during the semi-directive interviews, three autobiographical interviews were conducted. Three persons were chosen, two agriculturalists and one teacher each living in a different administrative sector : Kigina, Gatarama and Nyarubuye. The advantage of these people was that they were well aware of both the past and the current socio-cultural and political situations of the region.

The autobiographical interviews were conducted in a context very different from that in which the semi-directive interviews had been held. During the semi-directive interviews, which were held confidentially, it had been soon realized that, despite the great freedom of expression allowed to the teacher and peasant informants, answers were more often than not stereotyped and laconic. This tendency therefore had to be avoided and the interviewee had to be helped to discover and talk about his or her social experiences from earliest childhood to adulthood. To do this, it was suggested to the interviewees that they recount their lives in the presence of their peers without sexual segregation. Thus, wives could freely attend and contribute to the autobiographical history recounted by their husbands. This also allowed for the correction of certain mistakes and the addition of complementary information to the autobiographies.

One average each interview lasted ninety minutes and was completed in a single session. Splitting the interview into different sessions would have been too heavy a burden for the interviewees, who had already given a considerable amount of their time to the semi-directive inquiries. The interviews held in Kinyarwanda were directly recorded on cassette.

The materials were subsequently transcribed, sorted through and analyzed. The most significant information was then presented in tabular form, under three heads : 1. The sequences of life ; 2. The dominant themes of life ; 3. The interviewee's opinions on various themes.

2. Inquiry procedure in an urban commune : Nyarugenge and in a rural commune in the North-West : Nyakinama

Generally speaking, the study was carried out at a time and under such practical conditions that created difficulties of access to the countryside because of the nationwide fuel shortage. This was the case for the commune of Nyakinama. In addition to the material collected in the field over a fortnight, use was also made of information supplied by adolescents from that commune who were pursuing their studies in Kigali or Butare. Further information was supplied by parents, also coming from the commune, who were in Kigali temporarily for work.

Inquiry samples by commune and target group, as proposed in the research outline are presented below. In view of the uniformity of the replies and the situation of the persons interviewed, they can be considered as making up a representative sample.

The inquiry was conducted on the basis of the indications given by the burgomasters and communal councillors. Three visits were made in the urban commune of Nyarugenge and two in Nyakinama. This slight indifference in the number of visits was due to the travel difficulties mentioned earlier.

The first visit was devoted mainly to establish contact. During that visit, documents and information necessary for the inquiry were obtained, particularly from the burgomasters and their staff. The subsequent visits were for both the semi-directive and/or autobiographical inquiries, with no special plan or order arranged for them.

Problems of language – experienced in an identical way, moreover, by all the operators of this study – caused no obstacle to the study whatsoever. Firstly, the existence of one single language (with one or two minor variations of intonation) throughout the country was a considerable advantage. Secondly, the fact that the operator was from a locality close to the two target communes made it possible to overcome communication problems, and this needs to be taken into account so as to preserve the impartiality of the analysis of the results.

The common frame of reference and language used in both the urban and rural cases, and the appropriate precautions taken helped to preserve the impartiality and objectivity required of the operators.

The subjects constituting the sample of the inquiry, as well as the primary informants, fluctuated between two typological categories : the rural community, with little experience of foreign cultural influences, and the urban community where acculturation had been and is most marked by comparison with the rest of the country. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out once again that no significant differences exist between the two communities as regards the modes of expression and communication.

Though one may question the representativity of the target groups because of the limited number of interviews, efforts were made from the outset to establish a balanced stratification. However, the variables of this stratification being numerous, only those concerning the level of instruction and social prestige were retained, as they appeared to be the most significant.

In the field, a questionnaire was used – in fact an *interview guide* – based on the four major themes proposed by the study. Although the guide-questionnaire was at times not followed as it should have been in order to respect the overall spirit of the study (*"semi-directive inquiry"*), it can nevertheless be stated that all the themes were dealt with, recorded on tape and transcribed before sorting through the results. Thus, full response to the questionnaire, which was not handed out individually to the informants, was obtained through additional information gathered during the retranscription of the interviews.

The convergence in the choice of methodological instruments has made it possible to combine the presentation of the results without any serious risk of distortion,

TABLE VI : *INQUIRY SAMPLES*

NYARUGENGE				
Interviews	Parents	Adolescents	Teachers	TOTAL A
Semi-directive Auto-biographical	24 4	15 6	14 4	53 14
Sub-*total* :	28	21	18	67
NYAKINAMA				
Interviews	Parents	Adolescents	Teachers	TOTAL B
Semi-directive Auto-biographical	22 4	16 6	8 3	46 13
Sub-*total*	26	22	11	59
TOTAL :	54	43	29	126

whilst at the same time respecting the two major sectors – the urban and the rural – investigated whose "logics" though interdependent, *are* different.

The dossier was compiled in accordance with the structure proposed by the general research outline and by using information from existing documents and publications or those supplied by competent informants.

It was constituted round the following major themes (which are also to be found in part in the results of the inquiries) : natural resources and their exploitation ; relations between kinship systems and the economy as a whole ; socio-political organization ; integration and social participation ; demographic data ; family and fertility ; the religious system and behaviours concerning population problems ; sexuality.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS OF THE INQUIRIES : THE RURAL WORLD AND THE URBAN WORLD

Mention has already been made of the exceptionally high disproportion in the country between urban and rural populations : 4 per cent against 96 per cent. These overall figures cannot, however, be interpreted without an insight into the population dynamics. There are really only two urban centres : Kigali, the capital, and Butare, the University town and former relay post for Rwanda to the Belgian colonial Administration of "Rwanda-Urundi". However, it is the first-mentioned which attracts most of the exceptionally high population growth which until some three years was growing at an approximate rate of 9 per cent per annum and since then, it appears to have reached over 30 per cent. The limited landspace in the country makes it difficult to reverse this trend towards monopolarization without industrial growth and the creation of jobs. The town of Nyarugenge thus runs the risk of appearing economically "empty-handed" in the face of the overwhelming pressure of the galloping population growth. In such situations, the inflow of rural populations tantamounts to the rural invasion of the towns. Thus, in these towns, interpenetration of rural and urban lifestyles is extensive. In such conditions, the socio-cultural models governing most population-related behaviours and attitudes are heavily affected by this powerful inrush of migratory currents. The rural models, which remain largely traditionalist in the countryside and which do not become really urbanised in the towns, are subjected to a set of contradictory influences in the towns, resulting in the abandonment of certain fundamental norms. While attributing these interferences to the impact of modernization models, one should not ignore the myth surrounding the latter concept.

Population education must be particularly careful in comprehending the complex meanings of these contradictory sets of influences which now affect family life, sexuality, environmental awareness, and to a larger extent, the whole issue of development. Instituting a new regulation based on well established individual and collective behaviours and capable of assuming responsibility for population questions in relation to the environment calls for an education that is related to the other structures of community action. It is in this context that community action and the relationship between education and the structure of the commune take on particular importance and would seem to offer the best possible opportunity to developing population education, half-way post between school and out-of-school education.

The interdependent rural and urban dossiers should provide material to give shape, form and content to this orientation.

PART ONE : THE RURAL WORLD

One the basis of the results of the inquiries and the data collected, the materials necessary to understand the operation carried out and for promoting population education are *organized into four sections :*

- *the presentation of the five communes* of the sample, without reiterating the already outlined general data concerning the overall rural environment of Rwanda – should provide an insight into the differences and similarities that exist in the all-important background to the problem of population education;
- *the population data* will be presented thereafter in logical sequence, stressing particularly – in addition to the basic demographic facts – the kinship system, which is a major feature of the population, situation and the economy;
- this leads on to the investigation of the *socio-cultural data most directly concerned with population education*, namely : the mechanisms of socialization in and around the societal and family contexts ; the relation between family dynamics and the perception of fertility ; the influence of religion on demographic behaviour ; and sexuality, which is the area in which population behaviours have a particular impact;
- the trends characteristic of *education* in the rural communes under study, regarding both socialization through the school and the pedagogical receptiveness to population education.

This set of organized data, drawn from the dossier compiled by the researchers and the results of the anthropological inquiries *only represents a selection of sequences deemed to be of greatest significance*. It does not aim to answer all the questions. The findings it presents only indicate the scope of further development activities and studies needed.

I. PRESENTATION OF THE FIVE COMMUNES – DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES

The natural resources and the socio-economic system, on the one hand, and the socio-political system, on the other hand, will be differenciated in a series of characteristic examples taken from the various study dossiers, after a brief introduction to the five communes.

1. Brief description of the five communes

1) *Rusumo*. A commune in the far South-East, situated in the plains bordering on Tanzania, and one of the least-inhabited parts of the country (38 inhabitants per km^2), Rusumo has a variety of natural resources which provides for a balanced diet for its inhabitants and relative material comfort. The "pressure on the land" is lower than elsewhere. Rural development projects – supported notably by the Belgian "Association Internationale pour le Dévelopment Rural" (AIDR) which has launched a rural animation scheme – are important in the commune ; but the structures of traditional agriculture are little-changing. This commune has the reputation of being a bastion of traditionalism.

2) *Ngarama* is also a commune in the East (North-East) of the country, and its major features are to a certain extent comparable to those of Rusumo. The population density is low (31 inhabitants per km^2, with an average of 84 inhabitants per km^2 in the local departmental capital, Byumba). Agriculture is also very closely related to the traditional system with, however, some cash crops such as tea and coffee. It should also be noted that Bahima stock-rearers from Uganda have settled here and this has increased the importance of stock-rearing. Development projects (particuarly the "peasant co-operative" schemes) are numerous and immigration into the area is quite high.

3) *Nyakinama*. This commune in the Ruhengeri Prefecture is characteristic of the area in Rwanda which is subjected to the heaviest demographic pressure, an area of middle-altitude mountains, with a population density of about 300 inhabitants per square kilometre and a severe shortage of land for cultivation. The National Institute of Pedagogy planned to be set up here in 1981 is expected to promote some movement towards urbanization.

4) *Rutsiro* is situated on the edge of Lake Kivu on the western flank of the Zaire-Nile chain. This is a commune of mountains and forests under the Prefecture town of Kibuye, with an average density of 200 inhabitants per sqare kilometre – close therefore to the average situation for Rwanda as a whole. Fish and apples are the main produce (plus a small cassiterite mining industry). Trade is quite important. The Batwa minority is more numerous in this commune than elsewhere.

5) *Kamembe*, also a commune in the West on the edge of Lake Kivu, close to the Prefecture town of Cyangugu (average density : 137 inhabitants per km^2), has sizeable agricultural potential and the pressure on land has not yet reached the critical stage. Situated at the frontiers of Zaire and Burundi, Kamembe, which is the site of a historical tradition with a tourist vocation, is the centre of a certain amount of social life. Commerce, centred round a small trading port on the lakeside, is well developed. Fishing and cultivation of two industrial crops : tea and quinquina also constitute important activities of the commune.

2. The socio-economic system

The significant differences that exist in this sample, are related more to the extent of exploitation of the potential agricultural resources (by far the predominant factor in every case) rather than to the production structure itself. Whereas the potential in Rusumo offers big possibilities for further development, it has been over-exploited to the critical point in Nyakinama ; the other three areas are in the intermediate stages.

In order to describe the ***characteristic socio-economic agrarian structure***, we shall refer to the dossier of Rusumo which, subject to the remarks made above, appears to be representative of the overall situation.

i) *Agriculture and stock-rearing and the structure of the productive system*

In the commune of Rusumo, as in the greater part of the rural areas of Rwanda, the agrarian system is based on subsistence farming with the addition of a few commercial crops.

We shall outline the typical agricultural exploitation, the organization of labour and production techniques, the variety of agricultural production and its economic importance.

The typical family based exploitation extends over an average land area of about 3 hectares (whereas in the densely populated parts of the West and North-West the average is around 1 hectare – with a population density some 5 or 6 times higher – the national average being 1 hectare 32).

Thus the unit of production is based on family-owned land, handed down from generation to generation by inheritance, or bought, or acquired through donation from the communal authorities.

The family labour force is in charge of production and involves constant co-operation amongst all the members of the family. It should be added that more and more the family is based on the nuclear structure : father, mother and children.

The system of mutual help among neighbours is practised mainly during periods of heavy work load at the beginning and end of the crop seasons. Ploughing, weeding and harvesting are carried out jointly, with no noticeable division of labour between the sexes or the generations. However, stock-rearing activities seem to be reserved for men. The most commonplace agricultural techniques call for considerable human labour with rudimentary tools : hoes, machetes, pruning-knives and jack-knives. Use of animal-traction and machinery constitute the exception.

This is a first point of observation relating to development and demographic problems. The current state of productive forces, and particularly the use of technology, involves the large deployment of low productive human labour and encourages the family to have enough children to make up the basic labour force for the family farm.

However, this type of low-productivity agrarian organization on small farms is hardly sufficient to meet the subsistence needs of a large family. If improved agrarian techniques to raise productivity are practised, the needs of a larger population can be satisfied, but that would reduce the need for unskilled manpower, thereby creating a new problem of employment. This is a well-known dilemma which can only be solved through a development policy which relies on the expansion of new productive activities that are labour intensive (particularly processing farm produce which increase their added value on the local, regional or national market) and which in turn, implies the development of consumer structures and distribution systems etc. This development policy is also based on the assumption that the basic social units, that is the families, will be in a position to match their fertility patterns more closely to their economic and social plans. This brings us back to the basic issues of population education and its relation to development options.

The main production in the rural commune under study consist of subsistence farming based on the cultivation of crops such as bananas, beans, sorghum, manioc and sweet potato, all of which use up 90 per cent of the cultivated land. On the remaining land, commercial crops, in this case coffee and particularly peanut, are produced.

However, banana is now starting to be commercialized. Its average yield is high (10 tonnes per year per hectare), and 90 per cent of the total production is made up of "beer bananas" which are used to make alcoholic drinks : *urwagwa* or *pombé*. The beer banana is mainly used for local consumption but the other varieties – cooking bananas (plantain banana) and fruit bananas – are in part sold at the markets of the region or bought by merchants from Kigali. This latter trend has increased considerably with the growth of population in the capital.

Stock-rearing is of comparable status to agriculture. Each farm owns at least one cow, a few goats, some sheep and the usual farmyard stock, with the exception of the pioneer households who have only recently arrived in the commune. Neither large nor small livestock bring in much income for the population : there is little milk, little meat and little manure because of the poor quality of the grazing land, the shortage of water and lack of zootechnical infrastructure. Yet in principle it is relatively easy to improve stock-rearing in this region particularly as available land for pasture is extensive.

The quest for a suitable development policy is obliged to look into the problem of balance in the production of food and commercial crops, taking into account the quality of nutrition, and in the consumption patterns at local, regional and national levels.

In this respect, the *economic significance* of the agricultural system should be looked into. We have already mentioned the low productivity, stemming mainly from the rudimentary nature of the techniques employed. This subsistence agriculture produces only a relatively small surplus (even though it is much higher than that obtained in regions where consumption pressure resulting from population pressure is far greater).

The current real savings capacity is low, and furthermore it is to be noted that the peasant does not readily turn to institutions which would help him to save more. The savings bank is little esteemed and individual "hoarding" is preferred. The solution should lie in tying the development of more profitable production techniques to the organization of marketing circuits which are in turn connected to the development of credit systems, whilst preserving the basic subsistence balances. A well founded policy of co-operative farming, which is not unknown to Rwanda should be able to respond to these development needs. But this calls for an "education for development" which would enable the peasants to find solutions to their problems on their own with the backing of the State machinery.

Certain results from rural animation schemes obtained in the Prefecture of Kibungo and of interest to the Commune of Rusumo give useful and encouraging indications. Population education should be allowed to tackle this problem area directly. As can be appreciated, it affects all generations, children as much as adults, and concerns both the school and out-of-school structures.

ii) *Rural development projects*

The rural development projects on which educational activities mentioned above could be based are numerous in the commune. Some are already in operation (for example, the eradication of the tsetse fly), and others are awaiting financing.

The commune is steadily increasing the number of primary schools, replanting trees on sites unsuitable for crops or stock-rearing, stimulating production for marketing, laying out new roads, and building particularly in "co-operative schemes" situated in the basin area, new dispensaries and maternity hospital units. Lastly, a programme of distribution of drinking water has been prepared and the facilities already serve a part of the population. In this latter area, as in the field of housing, the AIDR (International Association for Rural Development) is playing a very prominent role. These development projects will help improve the standard of living of the peasant communities in the medium and long term.

The number of deaths caused by malaria and sleeping sickness has dropped sharply over the last few years.

In the field of agricultural and silvicultural production, the commune has almost doubled in less than a decade the surface area under replanted eucalyptus trees : wood is becoming more and more essential for the construction of houses and for domestic heating. The production of peanuts, which had dropped considerably between 1974 and 1977, has been picking up once again. All these imply a structural policy which underlines the key role of the commune as the basic unit of development.

In education, the number of children of agriculturalists benefitting from primary education has been steadily increasing.

3. The socio-political system

We have already mentioned the central role of the commune in Rwanda ; it is the basis of its institutions and of the socio-political system which, whilst being modernized is rooted in the traditional society. The Ngarama dossier has been selected to illustrate the structure and functions of the commune.

In Ngarama, like the country as a whole, the commune is run by a burgomaster who is appointed by the President of the Republic. In the discharge of his administrative and political functions, he is helped by communal councillors, each of whom represents one sector of the commune, who contitute, under the burgomaster, the communal Council which is the central institution of local administration. The burgomaster and the Council have a communal staff at their disposal for the internal administration of the commune and the maintenance of law and order. The Personnel of the different Government departments attached to the commune's administrative area also come under the authorities, of the communal administration, which has a technical commission and a development council to co-ordinate and integrate the action of the various sectoral services (education, justice, health and social affairs, agriculture and stock-rearing). We have seen that a special structure has been set up to co-ordinate the different training activities in a way which raises once again the issue of education for development and population education.

It should be added that this structure reaches to the very bases of society through the "cells" each of which groups together some thirty households on an average and elects a head for a four-year period through individual vote just as in the case of the communal councillors. Thus the representative system which is growing in number will contribute more and more to the limitation of the role of the extended family which will thus lose its political functions.

This examination of structure reveals two sources of power : the State machinery, involving a downward-moving hierarchy (burgomaster and the State Government officials attached to the communes), and the democratically-elected representative system with an upward power flow (communal councillors and heads of cell), in which the Communal Council represents the key strategic link between the power at grass-root level and at the summit.

The studies and inquiries show that in Ngarama – and this is representative of the general situation – democratization of power has not eliminated social differences. The salary scale shows that wealth is primarily in the hands of the merchants, State officals are in the intermediate position and peasants are the least favoured class. However, the democratic structure at the base *does* allow for real exercise of political power in a context which ignores economic hierarchies.

Nevertheless one of the most pronounced features of social evolution that is linked to the economy is the increase in a certain kind of individualism resulting from the expansion of the monetarized section of the economy which enables payment for services that in the past were provided as part of group solidarity (transporting the sick, for instance). The socio-economic dynamics of to-day would therefore tend to give more and more importance to emerging social classes.

The role of the woman is still little-developed in relation to the socio-political system. The inquiries indicate that all decisions of a political or economic nature, even in areas where women's viewpoints would seem to be particularly helpful, are taken in the last instance by men. This male supremacy can be gauged particularly in the distribution of political posts. All village-level political posts are held by men, whether they be heads of cell or communal councillors. Of course, women take part in the extended family meetings and the village reunions, and are entitled to take the floor, just as they are entitled by law to enjoy the same political prerogatives as men. However, there is still much progress to be made and education should make it possible to pass through the essential stages. Population education which deals with the responsibilities of men and women, constitutes an integral part of this path towards progress.

II. POPULATION DATA

1. Demography and its relationships with the kinship and the productive systems

The kinship system, as we have already described and as it emerges from the studies and inquiries, remains one of the key structures governing the evolution of demography in Rwanda.

The filiation system is patrilineal. When considering the actual groups that result from this system – whereby kinship is handed down through the father – three main levels are to be distinguished.

- A group of patrilineal kinsmen called *inzu* (meaning "hut"), which has been translated as "parentele" (kindred) by certain ethnologists specializing in Rwandese society and as primary patrilineage by others. The cohesion and depth of the generations of a particular "inzu" are dependent on the presence in the group of an eminent person of reference and the relatively low geographical mobility of its members. Emigration to a foreign country or even to a distant region affects the group's cohesion and can lead to the formation of a new "parentele" (kindred).
- A group of living persons who would have belonged to the same parentele ("inzu") if the original "inzu" had not split into many groups called *umulyango*. If the translation of "inzu" as primary patrilineage is adopted, then "umulyango" would be translated by secondary patrilineage to show that "umulyango" is an offshoot of "inzu".
- A larger group encountered in the country is that of the *ubwoko* clan. This is the largest group of patrilineal kinsmen. It groups together the descendents of a single ancestor – real or mythical – who are unable to trace back their relationships to the ancestor in question but all of whom claim to belong to the same totem.

Nevertheless, in present-day realities, it is definitely the restricted family kinship structure that would play a part in the productive relations and have an impact on the population situation. The community spirit and the system of mutual economic support are rapidly disappearing. The population consisting of this type of family unit is a basic feature of the strategy for survival which must become a strategy for development, in an optimal combination of human and natural resources and production techniques.

The typical family unit comprises the man, his wife and their children. However, there are two types of families : the nuclear family and the polygynous family which consists of one man, his wives and their children – a situation which is found mainly among the Bahima shepherds. The respective roles of the husband, the wife and the children within the classic nuclear or polynuclear family are clearly defined. The father and mother are directly responsible for the survival of the members of their household. It is for them to feed, clothe and care for their children. They, and only they, take the population related decisions. The children also have a certain number of responsibilities which increase with age. When the child reaches the age of 12 or 13 years, he helps his parents in the not too physically demanding work around the home. He is required to go and fetch water (when the water points are not too far away) and firewood, to mind the small and large livestock and help in the harvesting work. For the girls, in addition to the activities mentioned above, there is almost always the responsibility of bringing up the younger children while their mothers attend to their agricultural and housekeeping work. The Bahima girls are taught basket-work and the decorative arts at a very early age.

The awareness of the *cost of a child* is a key element in the sharing out of work in the family. Educating a child does not cost the parents too much. Clothing is sparing and food generally quite well balanced except in very poor households or during the pre-harvest period. The most expensive item for parents is medical care because of the shortage of dispensaries and medicine ; the State takes care of most of the child's expenses at school, and schooling is therefore relatively cheap. Primary education is compulsory and free of charge.

In the analysis of the relationships between the various groups making up the family, and their evolution, reference must also be made to the *elderly*. The results of the inquiries are not precise enough to determine the exact age at which people stop working. It depends on the physical energy of each individual and his financial situation (the rich peasant ceases productive work earlier than the poorer peasant). As an indication, the age of 70 years can be retained as that which marks the passing from the group of active population to the non-active group. However, elderly people do not represent a true burden on the economy since they constitute only a very small percentage of the total population (life expectancy is of the order of 45 years). The children take charge of their elderly parents.

Several conclusions can be drawn from this in respect of the relation between demography, kinship and production. An elderly person with no children leads a very harsh existence. He has to cope, unaided, with problems of water and fuel supplies, and paying for food, clothing and medical care. A happy old age is inconceivable without children, from the point of view of both moral support and physical help. These considerations undoubtedly have an important part to play in the high value placed on fertility.

The above-mentioned data show how important the effect of recent changes in economic conditions is on population problems. The framework of the population system, made up in the past by the extended family, is gradually changing throughout the society into the new restricted or nuclear family module, with the persistence, however, of a number of old solidarites, especially with regard to the status of the elderly. Population education should take these developments into account to the full, if only by helping the subjects themselves to analyse these phenomena which concern them. It should be added that demographic pressure and the awareness of its impact on both economic and kinship structures is an inseparable element in any study of population-related policies and the planning of relevant educational activities and programmes.

2. Demography – population awareness

It is not our intention to reiterate the general demographic data of Rwanda which were presented in the introduction. Here, the aim is to describe the structure of the demographic phenomena as they are encountered in the field during the inquiry, and to relate them to the awareness and attitudes observed among the informants so as to obtain references and material that can be used by population education not only from the point of view of overall, general information at the macro-level, but also from the standpoint of behaviours observed in individuals and small groups in the micro-society.

The synthesis of the results from the dossier and inquiry in one significant commune, Ngarama, has been selected for presentation below. It details the various factors involved as coherently as possible, and brings out the inter relations between the various categories of data.

i) *The demographic data of the society studied – elements from the Ngarama dossier*

In November 1976, the population of Ngarama totalled 19,624 inhabitants, of which 10,012 were males and 9,612 females. The distribution of the population by age and sex was as follows :

TABLE VII : *DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX*

Age	Male population	Female population	Total
0 to 4 years	1 491	1 484	2 975
5 to 19 years	4 132	3 743	7 875
20 to 54 years	3 620	3 667	7 287
55 to 69 years	691	633	1 324
70 years and over	78	85	163
TOTAL	10 012	9 612	19 624

The overall growth rate of the population was of the order of 3 per cent per annum. The birth rate was 48 per thousand. The death rate was 18 per thousand. Although the overall mortality rate was relatively low, infant mortality rate was high – 143 per thousand. The fertility rate – the number of births for every 1,000 women of childbearing age (15 to 49 years) was 210 per thousand.

The age of marriage varies between 23 and 25 years for men and between 19 and 21 years for women. Celibacy is an exception.

Cases of divorce are not very frequent. In cases of conjugal discord, the husband prefers to marry a second wife and keep the first rather than go to the courts. Numerous cases of polygamous families are found. It is more widespread among Muslim communities. Large families are also common. This is due to the early marriage of young girls, who, once married, do not practise any contraception until menopause. Thus it is not unusual to find nuclear families with 10 children. The average number of children per family is five. Households with parents aged 35 and over often have six children. Childless families are very rare.

For about ten years now, the commune of Ngarama has been taking in immigrants particularly from other overpopulated communes in the same department of Byumba. The immigrants settle mostly in the peasant co-operatives of Gakoma and Nyagatare. The age groups affected by these migratory movements vary between 25 and 40 years. It has been observed that over the past three years the native population is showing a slight trend towards emigration. The Office of Agropastoral Development of Mutara – OVAPAM project (1) wich is seeking at all costs to sedentarize the Bahima nomadic shepherds, has met with stern opposition on their part. Rather than sedentarize and thus lose their habitual freedom of movement, a large number of these pastoral folk have crossed the border with their stock and settled in Uganda.

Emigration is also affecting young people, who leave to find work as agricultural workers in sugar-cane, cotton or coffee plantations in Uganda. This movement, however, has slowed considerably over the last eight years. Immigration into Ngarama, considering the availability of land and also the identity of language and culture between immigrant and native population, is not giving rise to any conflicts.

ii) *Awareness of population phenomena in Ngarama*

The new awareness revealed by the inquiry confirms in part the objective data given above. It sheds light on the range of attitudes and motivations of the people and gives a more accurate assessment of the situation in which population education has to take its place.

In turn, the present situation of demographic awareness will be examined as it applies to the micro-society of the family, and then to the Rwandese macro-society.

The generalized existence of large families is a major feature of the Rwandese population and the majority of the rural population appears to accept it with a deep sense of responsibility. Parents, particularly women, like to have many children, and this is clearly indicated by the sample of responses obtained during the inquiry in Ngarama analyzed below.

To the question : "In your opinion, what is the *ideal size for your family* ?", the responses obtained from parents and teachers give a figure varying between 5 and 10 children. Out of seven male parents questioned, four wanted a family of six children, and the other three preferred to have only five children. As regards female parents, one out of seven thought that the ideal family should have five children and the others preferred families with more than six children. Thus, women are more natalist than men and this is an observation which applies to Rwanda as a whole. Some women went as far as to state that they would be willing to have more than fifteen children "if that was God's wish".

On the other hand, the men place more importance on economic factors. "To feed a large family is difficult" they believe, "and it is becoming more and more difficult to ensure an inheritance for a large number of descendants". This fear is all the more acute among heads of families living in the co-operatives where each family is entitled to no more than two hectares of land and where it is prohibited to divide up the land through inheritance. The preference for large families in the countryside is even more marked among Muslim families.

The reasons given by the farmers during the inquiry can be grouped under three categories. First, children constitute a sure and cheap source of labour for agricultural work ("The more you have, the richer you get, because you can cultivate more land"). Secondly, the family which has many children, it is said, has a good chance of seeing one of them succeed socially or financially and in return help his brothers and parents. Lastly, as we noted earlier, it is necessary to have many children in order to secure a happy old age. On the other hand, the teachers, who support the idea of slightly smaller families (between 4 and 6 children), see in it the advantage of being able to feed and clothe their children better and ensure a more advanced schooling and a more substantial inheritance for them.

As regards the *spacing of childbirths*, the parents and teachers questioned believed that an interval of two or three years between childbirths was the ideal so as to enable the mother to recover her strength and breastfeed her child. However, the question of means to achieve such an elementary form of regulation constitutes controversial issue in the rural environment. For many parents, birth control is impossible since it is God who procreates (2). A minority of farming parents (about 10 per cent) thinks that the best way of limiting births is spacing through the practice of sexual abstinence. They also believe, nevertheless, that this method is not feasible when husband and wife are living together.

---

(1) Office de Valorisation Agro-Pastorale du Mutara – a project launched in 1974 and financed mainly by the World Bank.

(2) In Nyakinama, 80 per cent of interviewees knew of the existence of contraceptive means, 2 per cent used them, and 65 per cent said they should like to be able to limit the number of births.

The teachers show themselves to be slightly better informed. The means mentioned by them for regulating the number of births included sexual abstinence, the effectiveness of which they doubted, and the use of contraceptive pills. They all declared that they had never seen a pill and felt some anxiety about their side-effects, for as the Rwandese women say, "The pill is unnatural for women". For the time being, they believe that it is best to leave nature run its course until such a time as the medical officers give them informed and effective advice.

Sterility is seen as a bad experience by all members of the community and as a source of unhappiness and misfortune. All the parents questioned, together with 90 per cent of the teachers, thought, for example, that a man should take a second wife if his first became sterile. On the other hand, it is out of the question for a fertile woman married to a sterile husband to have children with another man without the conclusion of a divorce. If a woman bears only daughters for her husband, he is entitled, so as to have a son, to marry a second wife or establish a lateral relationship with a widow or a young girl. *Polygamy* can also be the result of disagreement between a married couple. The inquiries show that it is also seen to procure an economic advantage for the rich peasant in that it enables him to provide himself with extra labour on a permanent basis when his landed property is not being exploited to the full. For the poor peasants, the problem is of course a different one. Finally, for the Muslims, polygamy is a response to religious incitements.

In such conditions, *divorce* is relatively unusual. The unmarried person is the subject of social reprobation, particularly amongst farmers and less so amongst the teachers, who show a certain amount of tolerance.

As regards the awareness of population problems outside the immediate individual and family environment, the observations made by the inquiry were not highly satisfactory. Of course, parents and teachers involved in the interviews were aware of the rapid population growth in their community. It is a fact that the population of the commune of Ngarama which was just under 8,000 inhabitants in 1955 has now reached almost 20,000. Areas that were sparsely-populated some ten years ago are now on the verge of saturation. This is the situation in the Kigasha and Gakoma sectors which have to take in hundreds of families every year from Ruhengeri and the overpopulated areas of the departmental capital of Byumba. However, the teachers and parents alike see the demographic problem as a collective problem only at national level. At the commune level, they treat it as an individual problem since the majority of households still have enough land to cultivate and their commune has not yet reached population saturation levels. In the communes with extremely heavy population pressure by comparison with available land, like those of the Ruhengeri region, attitudes towards fertility are almost identical, with one or two minor exceptions, ; although anxiety concerning access to land is high. This has not led, however, to any fundamental questioning of the validity of these attitudes.

III. DATA PARTICULARLY CONCERNING POPULATION EDUCATION IN THE SOCIO-CULTURAL SYSTEM OF RWANDA

From the guide which set out the outline for the organization of the dossier and inquiry, three particularly significant points have been retained for investigation so as to provide material and support for population education programmes ; they particularly concern the Rwandese socio-cultural system :

- the socialization process in the socio-familial context and its periphery at the various stages of social integration ;
- the socio-cultural status of sexuality and its practical consequences ;
- the way in which the religious system influences population-related behaviours.

1. Socialization in the socio-familial context and its periphery

In Rwandese society the social presence of the child is noticeable already at conception and is accorded much meaning and value. In the traditional model, *a series of rites and practices are associated with pregnancy*. The aim, symbolically, is to preserve the valued life. These rites are entitled "Kuraguza".

The dossier of the study mentions a series of prescriptions which are still adhered to in the most traditional milieux (for example, "a pregnant woman must not take a bird out of its nest on pain of aborting", or "a pregnant woman must avoid the stare of a cow having difficulty in dropping her calves ; if ever it were to happen, she must pick some herbs, make them up into a little bunch and throw it onto the cow, saying : may that only happen to you !" etc.). The woman takes care to lead a regular life and keep her temper calm, so that the character of the child may not be upset. Thus it can be seen that *education begins before birth*.

Infancy

This period is spent totally enclosed in the warmth of the close family unit. Even when it is the offspring of a large, poor family, the child comes into the world in an affectionate and caring atmosphere. The first "social welcome" of the child takes place eight days after birth at the baptising ceremony ("ubunnyano"), with a large gathering of relatives and neighbours.

Until weaning, at around the age of two or two and a half, the child is brought up in constant, close proximity to its mother (and, indeed, most of the time in actual bodily contact). The mother plays a decisive role in early education. Until the age of four, the child remains under the virtually exclusive influence of its mother, elder sisters and other women of the family. From the age of four, the circle of socialization widens. The child explores the whole of the family and neighbourhood environment. It joins in the games of the neighbourhood children. Although until that age it is the mother who teaches the child the elementary aspects of biological and emotional education, it is the father who now starts to assume a more active role. He teaches the child the framework of moral obligations : to like work, to be polite at all times and in all places and so forth.

Entry into the peer group

In the old system of education, the child became a full member of his peer group at about the age of six. Distinctions were made between boys' group and girls' group, and it was within this group framework that socialization took place. Groups of girls and of boys still exist today, but play a less important role because school has taken over a large part of the responsibility for family education.

Initiation rites, except for certain specific practices for girls (gukuna), have tended to disappear.

For non-school going adolescents, the process of learning essential issues continues, for boys, in the wake and example of the father, and for girls in the footsteps of their mother. Preparation for marriage begins at the end of this stage and marks full social integration.

In the past, a special ritual used to mark the appearance of the menarche (first menstruation) for girls who then moved into the adult world and had to adhere to the specific norms and behaviours of women (which sometimes take the form of veritable taboos : it is, for example, forbidden for women to mind cows).

The marriage ritual, a major stage in socialization

The matrimonial process may be described as it occurs in the traditional manner, for it has not been simply eliminated from socio-cultural practice and helps to shed some light on certain aspects of modern-day procedures.

Nuptiality begins with what is called *"Kurambagiza"*. A boy who feels that he has reached the appropriate age (18-25 years) inquires about a young girl of marrying age (16-21 years). Traditionally the middleman in these initial approaches had to be a mature adult man (over 30 years of age) but due to social developments has either disappeared or the "go-between" is of the same age as the young man sending him. Then comes *"Gusaba"* – "asking for the young girl's hand in marriage". This stage, which in the region of Nyakinama can last between one and two years, is periodically celebrated with 15 to 20 pitchers of beer and material gifts (sorghum, beans, hands of bananas etc.) given by both the families of the future spouses. After that comes *"Gukwa"* : the family of the bridegroom-to-be presents a *"souvenir gift"* to the family of the bride-to-be. Then the date can be fixed for the civil wedding. This *"souvenir-gift"* usually has the value of a heifer, but like before 1960, it is still possible to give 8 goats or sheep, according to the material resources of the groom's family. Then, finally, comes the wedding : *"Gushyingirwa"*. The recognized official marriage ceremony is the civil and/or religious ceremony, depending on the constitution, but very often the civil marriage (contracted before the burgomaster) constitutes a mere formality in the eyes of the people, the aim of which is to witness the handing over of the dowry.

Nowadays, big differences are beginning to appear with respect to former practices. The institution of marriage has been particularly heavily affected by social evolution.

The table below indicates the growing gap between the former situation, the present-day situation and the forecast made by the informants concerning the future.

In conclusion, it can be said that the parents and teachers who were questioned were unanimous in acknowledging that changes of considerable importance had taken place in the overall process of socialization. This is especially true when it is considered that certain of the practices described above have completely died out or are unknown to the younger generations. Such is the case particularly for the rite making an adult of a young man, and the ritual surrounding the appearance of the menarche in the young girl.

According to parents under the age of 45 years, the socialization of adolescents – both boys and girls – is left to their elder brothers and sisters, and to the school and society in general. It is through these three channels that the adolescent of either sex learns to recognize the responsibilities of an adult man or woman and is informed of matters related to marriage and sex.

TABLE VIII : *COMPARATIVE TABLE OF MARRIAGE-RELATED CUSTOMS*

PRACTICE	Pre - 1960		1960-1979		For the future	
	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl
Age at marriage	16-20 years	14-17 years	18-25 years	16-21 years	25 years	22 years
Continue boy's family's dowry (Gukwa)	Yes (100 %)		Yes, but also presents from both families		Both families should provide gifts for the newly-weds	
Kurambagiza with go-between	Yes		No	Yes	No	No
Number of pitchers to be given	30	40	15	20	10	

198

The changes which have taken place in the socialization process are not interpreted in the same way by all parents and teachers intervi[illegible] According to Muslim parents, the socialization pr[illegible]s of the traditional Rwandese model – non-Isl[illegible] [illegible]erefore – have a "pagan" or "primitive" chara[illegible]r. As a result, and as is prescribed by Koranic law, they must cease. For the non-Muslim farmers of 45 years and above, the disappearance of these traditional practices related to adolescence is the result of the "invasion" of the western civilization. For them, this disappearance is regrettable as adolescents are no longer prepared in the authentically Rwandese manner to lead the life of a man or woman. For the farmers under 45 years of age, on the other hand, and for all the teachers interviewed, these changes fit perfectly into the framework of modern-day Rwandese society. In their opinion, "it is not rites and magical practices that make a man or woman of an adolescent, but the good example and the deep-seated values that are drawn from contacts with society and the intellectual and human training received at school".

Deep differences of opinion also exist in respect of the socialization of the two sexes. As examples, here are the responses obtained for the question : "Do you make the same differences between your sons and your daughters as your parents did ?" Ninety per cent of teachers replied in the negative. Sixty per cent of parents also replied in the negative, whilst 40 per cent gave an affirmative answer. Those who replied in the negative, gave the following explanation : "Traditional socialization was relevant to the socio-economic context in which Rwandese people lived some thirty years ago". Society accorded two essential roles to the woman : mother and housewife. The young girl was educated from this point of view. On the other hand, the young man was educated to develop the ability to keep a home and serve a Tutsi lord with a view to obtaining a number of cows. For that, he had to be taught to be courteous, patient and wise.

The situation has since changed radically. Girls are entitled to the same opportunities as those provided to men as regards social advancement. In principle, they are not excluded from any economic or political activity, although in practice certain discrepancies may subsist. The school is the key-instrument for ensuring the advancement of children in general and of girls in particular.

The inquiry also gave an opportunity to measure the way in which socialization is experienced as regards the relations between the generations. We shall therefore supplement the description of the system of socialization with some observations concerning the relations between parents and adolescents.

The relationships between parents and adolescents are characterized by a certain fear in children of their parents. Traditionally, the adolescent owed respect and obedience to his parents. He was required to avoid, in his attitude and speech, anything which could have appeared out of place. Outside material and school related questions, adolescents did not dare to speak of their personal problems with their parents, particularly concerning sexuality. Outside influences are now destroying the structure of old equilibria. In the face of this situation, the attitude of traditionalist parents is marked by a mixture of resignation and reprobation. The evolution in the socio-cultural perception of sexuality is particularly significant in this respect.

2. The socio-cultural status of sexuality and its practical consequences

A distinction can be made between initiation to sexuality, and sexual practices before marriage and after marriage. The analysis of their socio-cultural manifestations and developments and the changes occurring in them therefore presents one of the important elements for situating the issue of sex education within the framework of population education as a whole.

Initiation to sexuality is not part of the education given by adults. Sexuality is a domain which is taboo in the rural milieu. Neither the girl nor the boy is provided any opportunity for systematic learning of the physiology of human reproduction. The methods for the acquisition of sexual identity and knowledge linked to this identity vary according to the ethnic group, region and educational level with, nevertheless, a number of common features.

The inquiry in Nyakinama, for example, points to a certain degree of comparability. The young boy learns about sexual practices in the company of older boys while minding the family live stock. The initiation rite for the young girl is more standardized and better organized than for the boy. It is still practised to-day, even in the school environment, in the form of a rite called "gukuna" (consisting in stretching the labia and the clitoris). This is practised on young girls who reach puberty, between 12 and 15 years. The socio-cultural interpretations given to this rite vary : wisdom, aptitude for marriage or for good sexual relations with the husband, etc.

This leads to the problem of preserving the young girls' *virginity* until marriage. In traditional education, parents considered it essential. In the past, a girl over 14 years never left the family enclosure unless in the company of her parents or brothers. A young girl who became pregnant ran the risk of death penalty.

Nowadays, things have changed substantially and the inquiries reveal that young girls have several sexual relations before marriage. The parents, helpless, show a certain degree of resignation before the growing permissiveness. However, these free relations between boys and girls, which are not supported by any proper sex education, have led to a big increase in the number of out-of-wedlock pregnancies. Society still takes an intransigent view of such situations. A young girl who becomes pregnant under these circumstances is very severely condemned by her parents who easily drive her out of the home. She is forced to seek shelter in the homes of her maternal uncles or her cousins. The birth of the child must take place outside the family enclosure, for it is considered that an illegitimate birth brings misfortune for the family in which it occurs. Abortions among young girls are also very ill-considered and condemned on the same grounds as pregnancies. Parents and teachers interrogated were all convinced that a voluntary abortion carried out in or outside marriage was in no way different to an assassination, "since the being inside its mother's womb is a potential human being, a man-to-be".

Marriage between an unmarried mother and a bachelor is uncommon. The single mother's only chance of marriage is to accept a polygamous relationship, unless a poor, resourceless young bachelor marries her through mutual consent.

In the ritual marriage of the past, the woman became the "wife of the family" and it was legal and proper for her to share her sexuality with her husband's brothers. However, this practice is tending to disappear with the growing importance of the restricted nuclear family, and the impact of Christian morality on the institution of marriage.

It can be concluded that pre-marital sex is tolerated to some extent by the younger generations, and this highlights the growing need for sex education.

The gradual evolution towards less tolerance of extramarital relations, on the other hand, calls for the provision of family life education aimed at building up more positive relations within the nuclear family unit and between parents and adolescents.

3. The religious system and behaviours concerning population problems

It goes without saying that religion has always had a bearing on population problems. Rwanda first experienced an animist religion which is essentially pro-natalist. The fatalist attitude is particularly apparent in the names parents give to their children : "Habyal*imana*" (it is the God "Imana" who gives children), "Harel*imana*" (it is God who is in charge of educating), "Hatung*imana*" (it is God who provides for our needs) and so forth. Thus any desire to limit the number of births in whatever way is going against the creator and nature. No written law has come down from this religion but oral tradition plays the role of transmission agent for these stipulations and attitudes. Thus, it was necessary to make an offering of a cow or a goat to Imana so that a newly-married wife would be as fertile as possible or so that a temporarily sterile woman would start her cycle again, and so on. A sterile person had to be burried in a totally special way, which meant that she was returning to nothingness. She was burried with embers in her hands or with anything else signifying this return to nothingness. Her reapparition ("Umuzimu") is considered all the more dangerous as she is the ghost of someone who died with the greatest possible sadness that any human being could possibly experience !

In practice, there are no apparent conflicts in the field under study between the various religions, the main ones being Catholicism, Imanism, Protestantism, Islam and Adventism. It should nevertheless be noted that the Christian religion calls for the abolition of all customs and practices connected with the traditional "Imanist" religion. Thus, as a rule, the various religious systems still adhere to the pro-natalist principle. The traditional "Imanist" religion and Islam for example accept polygamy and early marriage unlike Catholicism, Protestantism, and Adventism. These latter three religions are against divorce. The influence of religion in its various different forms is strong mainly in the rural milieu. The situation is different in the urban areas.

IV. SCHOOL AND POPULATION

In the rural environment, the school enjoys a symbolic value of exposure to modernity and change, with all the ambivalence – merits and demerits – covered by these concepts. However, in practice, things are often different. On the basis of the results of the inquiries we can attempt to determine a number of essential features of the school as perceived by adolescents, parents and teachers, which may have a bearing on two major themes of the population question : the perception of the school in its socializing role and attitude towards pedagogical practice and its receptiveness to population education.

1. Socialization through the school

We present here, as an illustration, the main conclusions of the inquiries in two of the communes :

1) *Ngarama*

The parents consider that the school has the major task of making the adolescent an adult man by giving him intellectual and human training. Therefore they follow with great interest the child's progress at school. They make sure their children attend school regularly. For the rest, parents' role is limited to the payment of school fees and to administering punishment and rewards to their children. They take hardly any interest in knowing about the types of subjects taught. They do not take the trouble of going to see the teachers to find out about their children's strengths and weaknesses. This lack of interest for "school matters" is because most of the parents are illiterate. As far as they are concerned, the school is there to teach French and Mathematics, and "that is enough to make a bureaucrat".

The adolescents can be divided into two different groups. The first comprises those who are currently at secondary or primary school. The second includes all those who no longer attend school. Their aspirations are fundamentally different, but both groups have one common denominator. Adolescents do not want to work like their parents on the land, because "agriculture produces little wealth for those who practice it". According to the replies obtained during the interviews, adolescents who are currently at school would like to become State officials or take up a liberal profession (health, education, agronomy, architecture, etc.). They find the disciplines they are taught at school perfectly adapted : languages, sciences, mathematics, history and geography.

Those adolescents who left school without a diploma cultivate the land alongside their parents or their elders, or exercise other professions. At least ninety per cent of them would have liked to take up, according to the inquiry, other more satisfying and less tiring jobs than agriculture : electricity, carpentry, mechanics, or even liberal professions. Some would naturally like to live in the town, preferably the capital, so as to be able to benefit from the facilities afforded by town life ; to have more chances to get an education, to find a job, and to eat better.

According to the opinion of those adolescents who were not attending school, present-day primary school does not help the child to have a secure future. Parents and teachers are also very aware of this state of affairs. Out of 100 children leaving primary school, not even one per cent goes on to secondary school. The other ninety-nine per cent return to the rural environment, knowing how to read, write and count, of course, but with no instruction in any particular trade. They harbour a certain feeling of bitterness towards a society which refuses to allow them to advance up the social ladder as they would so much like to do, and have difficulty fitting back into the village way of life. As a consequence, it is necessary that the school prepare the child for life more effectively. In a practical sense, the parents, teachers and adolescents would like primary and secondary schools to provide not only a general education, but also technical training that would be useful in the rural world, such as agriculture, carpentry, masonry and basket-work. The School Reform, introduced in September 1979, is a step in the right direction.

Nowadays, parents who are privileged to see their child attend secondary school make sure he passes his examinations and obtains a diploma. They realise that access to a profession, and the consequent social advancement, are dependent upon obtaining a diploma, however unimportant it may be in itself. Furthermore, a family which has a child at secondary school cherishes the hope that once the studies are over, he or she will be of assistance to them. The adolescents are far from holding the same ideas as those of the parents about them. They believe for example, that it is perfectly natural that a young diploma-holder should help out his parents in extreme necessity. However, they are against the habit of certain parents who view the diploma as a "bank investment".

2) *Nyakinama*

Although the school affects few people, it has transformed the traditional system of socialization. Firstly, it has led *parents to loosen the hold they had over their children* : "umwana wize aba ali umuzungu", the child who goes to school becomes "white" (white means civilized), that is, he becomes a model in everything for the whole family. The parents respect him and dare not teach him the rites and practices of socialization of the past. Certain elements do live on, however. For example, the initiation of the young girl – "Gukuna" – has been subjected to the hazards of the boarding shool system with its strict timetables, yet 78 per cent of the girls at school declared that they had carried out the customary practice under the incitement of their elders, despite the strict supervision of the School Principal, whilst the rest said that they had heard of it without giving any further details. On the other hand, all persons questioned thought that it would be a loss if the practice was abandoned, as long as the men continued to attach symbolic importance to it. There are no initiation or education practices specifically reserved for the male sex. What is called "initiation" in the generally-used sense consists in dedicating to the Gods ("Imana" or "Lyangombe") the newcomer to the family of adults. The rite is entitled "Kubandisha". The (predominantly Catholic) Church is opposed to this animist tradition, and so the people are forced to keep it a secret, particularly when it involves Christians who claim to be regular Church-goers. Thus, attending Mass or Church services does not exclude recourse to traditional religious practices even when such practices are viewed with reprobation by society. In the same way, the school does not necessarily bring abourt a total break with the traditional system of values ; it is *seen above all as a medium for acculturation* which can lead to material happiness but can also affect the moral behaviour of individuals : vagrancy, unbridled sexuality and delinquence are the apparent fruits of the school, as the public at large see it. If it is a matter of choosing the lesser of two evils, everybody agrees that the schooling of girls is more harmful and disastrous than that of boys.

In the light of these inquiry documents it is possible to appreciate the ambivalence of the results of socialization through the school. It remains a structure in between two worlds : it closes the door on the traditional world – almost, without *quite* opening the door to the modern world. This observation calls for a closer examination of the receptiveness of currently-used teaching methods to an education that is geared more to development, including, therefore, population education.

2. Teaching and population education

The place given to population education questions in the school curriculum is at present very small. In the present situation, the primary school teachers are hardly sufficiently prepared to provide an education in this field and their tendency is to pass on the responsibility in this area to the secondary school – which results in a distinct limitation of the number of students covered, due to high drop-out at school, at least until such time as the shool reform has worked through fully.

The most significant information concerning the status of teachers, their teaching methods and their receptiveness to population problems has been taken from the inquiries in three communes :

1) *Excerpt from the Nyakinama inquiry*

As in the majority of cases, by his situation as a semi-intellectual and by the prestige he enjoys in his milieu, the teacher is socially placed in the middle class. Psychologically he aspires to the higher ranks and shows this in his language, social behaviour and the suchlike...

In the rural milieu in question – the commune of Nyakinama – the teacher enjoys even more prestige than in the urban environment, where he would be treated as belonging to a lower class because of his economic and social status.

In the rural milieu, the teacher finds that he is *the* intellectual par excellence (by virtue of his long schooling : between one and seven years of secondary education), given that he is the only person in the hill to have attended school for so long. He is considered as being the richest person in the area, such is the importance of his salary by comparison with the salaries of the other inhabitants (workers and domestic staff) and particularly by comparison with the peasant whose annual income is ower than 5,000 RF (some US $50). The teacher is a "king" in the milieu described above. Therefore, this situation has a considerable effect on the contacts established between teacher and parents. Generally, parents only go to visit the school when things are bad and the teacher has summoned them. The usual grounds for such summons are : repeated late arrival of the child ; uncleanliness of clothing and body ; misbehaviour in the classroom ; aggressiveness, etc.

The advice given is not always impartial, i.e. it is based on the socio-professional category of the parents and takes into account the extent to which the parents have the capacity to control their children.

Based on his own ideas about the purpose of education, the teacher establishes an order of importance in the general knowledge courses : French, Mathematics, Geography, History ; then come the practical classes : observation, carpentry, masonry ; and finally, supplementary courses : religion, civics, etc. The teacher does not make any fundamental differences between the sexes but is of the opinion that boys should be given more education than girls because the latter face "fewer troubles in their married life, unlike the men who have to be prepared for a constant struggle for their own and their families' survival". For these reasons, the rural teacher does not believe that the school is of equal usefulness for the two sexes.

Because of heavy administrative centralization, and the requirement to follow the school manuals strictly, *the teacher has little motivation for drawing examples from the daily life of the community. Nevertheless, the students have always shown great interest whenever the teacher has referred to examples from daily life in his explanations.* On the other hand, the parents would like their children to acquire exceptional knowledge, with no bearing on daily life. They believe that what surrounds them is adequately known. *The teacher is ill-informed of demographic problems in general.* Even when he is in favour of giving such education, he lacks reference documents and material explaining national policy in this area. However, most teachers have already improvised a course on the topic of the family, whilst in classes on hygiene they already deal with the hygiene of the mother and the child, and speak of reproduction and venereal diseases, etc. As there is only a primary school in the area under study, the teacher was unable to go into the subject in any greater depth. Thus, the opening for such courses is found in health subjects : hygiene, and very rarely, observation. The teacher does not determine in advance the topics to be covered, but they stem from the questions asked during the course of the class : it all happens in the form of a dialogue, or question and answer sessions, depending on the interest shown by the children.

2) *Excerpt from the Rusumo inquiry*

In the community under study, contacts between parents and teachers are very limited. As in Nyakinama, parents have no idea of the lessons given to their children nor of the way in which they are taught. Education comprises two main sections : the main subjects : Mathematics, French, Kinyarwanda and religion ; and the secondary subjects include study of the milieu, drawing and gymnastics. From the point of view of general culture, *teachers adopt an outlook that is more closely associated with development problems and believe that the course on the study of the milieu is essential.* This course comprises notions of geography, biology (botany, zoology, anatomy and hygiene), the history of Rwanda and civics. It is given at the end of primary school concurrently with the main subjects.

From the practical point of view, it is thought that technical subjects focussing on rural life would be helpful. "Education must not lose sight of the fact that 90 per cent of Rwandese live in the rural environment and the situation is not likely to change overnight", say the teachers. Therefore, lessons should be given in agriculture, rural economics and masonry, etc.

According to the evidence gathered, *the teachers*, whilst following the manuals, *often use examples taken from daily life* to illustrate their lessons, unlike in the preceding case. They do so particularly in subjects concerning the study of the milieu. They see two justifications for this approach to teaching. Firstly, the student prefers the example which reminds him of his own environment. Secondly, the student remembers a notion more easily if it is explained with the help of real-life examples. In a geography lesson devoted to population growth, the teachers explain to the students the phenomena of migration on the basis of the well-known case of the "land-clearers of Rusumo". Likewise, in a lesson on hygiene on the topic of environment improvement, the teachers base their lesson on an example that is well known by all – the housing – so as to show the students that personal hygiene begins with the improvement of the habitat in the hills. Such examples produce positive reactions in the students. Teachers in the last year of primary school are against the introduction of courses on population-related topics such as reproduction and sexuality. This is so firstly because the parents would be vehemently opposed to such a plan, and secondly because the teachers themselves do not see that it would be useful at the present time. "It would be premature", they say. This latter observation is similar to the one made by students in the last year of primary school. On the other hand, teachers would welcome the idea of teaching population-related issues at secondary school. They believe that at that level students are more mature, particularly those in the higher cycle (15-19 years) ; they would be more motivated because they would by then be in the very middle of adolescence. They say this would be the ideal moment, particularly as parents are bound by traditional attitudes forbidding them to raise questions related to sex. The *secondary school* would thus be *the best place* for adolescents to be informed of these matters by their teachers. However, where, when and how would adolescents who have left school at the end of the primary level, learn of such questions ? For the time being, the answer is not easily to be found. If such courses were to be given, the teachers believe that they should tackle primarily reproduction and sexuality. They should be approached from the economic and social angles. The students would like to know, for example, how to regulate spacing of births so that their region can maintain an optimum population in relation to available resources. They would also be very interested in learning what to do to counter venereal diseases which are so widespread in the urban centres.

3) *Excerpt from the Kamembe inquiry*

The least that is expected is that an expert should take over the responsibility for teaching population questions and sexuality. Six participants demanded that it should be a doctor, three spoke of a biologist, whilst two were anxious that this domain be reserved for a specialist on sex eduation. Below is the text of part of the inquiry document from Kamembe.

Question : Would you like to have courses on reproduction and economic problems ?

Six young girls did not reply to any part of the question. The remainder stated that as far as reproduction was concerned what was taught in anatomy and physiology should be strengthened by stressing, as was to be expected, the importance of questions related to the development of their region and country. Their responses suggested that everything related to wealth and to the contribution of agriculture to national economic development – a contribution that is different from that which is experienced daily – should be taught in the national language. One member of this group emphasized that he needed this education so as to be able to satisfy his needs in the future. *Reading through the young people's replies gives the impression that economic questions are more important than those concerning reproduction.* It is notably pointed out that there is a need to know what should be done "so that the country can progress and its resources are not wasted".

Thus a wider vision of the role of population education emerges, going beyond the over-narrow outlook confined to seeing it as a form of education that involves human sexuality. It is interesting to remark that in this case a spontaneous demand for an education comes forth which is highly consistent with the overall view of the population education programme laid out in the general introduction to the studies, which calls for the integration, on the one hand, of demographic and socio-economic data at the national or communal level and of the family and individual preoccupations affecting the life of the couple, the family and individual sexuality, on the other.

With regard to the quality of the educators taking part in the discussions on these subjects, reference could also be made to an excerpt from the interviews carried out with a group of adolescents from *Kamembe*.

Question : Would you like to be taught about sexuality ? With the exception of one girl who did not want these subjects to be taught, without giving any justification for this, and another who did not reply at all, the thirteen remaining girls stated that they would like to see these problems included in the secondary or post-primary (family sections) education curriculum, and some of them expressed the opinion that this education was indispensable. All the girls questioned excluded the inclusion of this education at the primary level ; one young girl made no difference between male and female teachers for teaching such subjects whereas a second preferred women teachers only, and a third rejected the idea of anybody other than a doctor ; a fourth thought the best-placed person was a nurse, and a fifth maintained that a specialist should be put in charge of such courses.

The situation of the young boys is quite different : three out-of-the-ordinary replies made a difference between boys and their sisters : the first advocated abstention from an education that dealt with questions of sexuality, the second forbade such matters to be thought about or taught, whilst the third demanded that "time be left to time", in the belief that his forefathers, who never went to any school, did not wait "for the invasion of their world by western civilization in order to live the life of a man".

This issue of the school's receptiveness, as revealed by the inquiries shows how important it is first to inform and train the teachers. With one or two rare exceptions, the representation of population education remains inseparably tied to matters of sexuality and only in fragmentary and subsidiary form does it examine the links with family life in its widest sense, environment and development.

PART TWO : THE URBAN WORLD

We have already stressed how recently urban life has emerged in Rwanda. The real urbanization movement only began at the time of the declaration of independence, when an autonomous centre of political and administrative organization was created. The result is that the attraction exerted by the new capital, Kigali, has to do more with rural migrants' hopes of finding some fortune in the resources of the State apparatus than in obtaining employment in industry. This feature is particularly characteristic of the inhabitants of Kigali, whereas the concentration of university facilities is the characteristic feature of Butare whose continued growth is slower, with the continued existence of a considerable area of agricultural land within the very precinct of the town : the countryside penetrates the town.

A presentation comparable to that adopted for the rural dossier will be made to highlight the most specific data relating to the problems of population and population education in towns, without going over the data common to Rwanda as a whole which have already been explained earlier.

I. PRESENTATION OF THE TWO TOWNS AND THE CONTEXTS STUDIED

1. The urban commune of Nyarugenge : Traditionalism at the centre of change

The urban commune of Nyarugenge encompasses the town of Kigali (the administrative capital and the largest town in the country) as well as the suburbs and a number of heavily-populated hills surrounding the capital. We should like to emphasize here the parallel existence of modernism and traditionalism in a town where the nascent modernism seemingly strangles the traditionalist life, while at the same time there is a considerable resistance to urbanization. This modernism is evident in virtually all the milieux and in different ways. Even the Church closely follows the rapid transformations occurring in professional and social life. Nevertheless, certain traditional forms are surviving and withstanding the onslaught of foreign civilization. Group mentalities – as manifested in sex, race, ethnic and social groups – are standing up to the foreign civilization. For example, the Muslims constitute a separate group. Most of the time they speak Kiswahili. In their majority they are very shrewd trading businessmen. Polygamy is widespread among them. This group has a certain influence in the area of Bilyogo, which is the most heavily-populated shanty quarter of Kigali.

i) *Approach to the human realities of the town : population statistics*

Due to the very rapid and uncontrolled urbanization, the recording of statistical data of the commune has been made difficult. Furthermore, the existence of two parallel administrations – communal and prefectoral – also contituted a serious handicap.

Whereas on 31/12/1976 the population was estimated at 24,701 inhabitants, by 31/12/1977 it had risen to 27,483, with a population density of 573 inhabitants per square kilometre. *At the time of the latest census, held in 1978, it had reached 87,418 persons*, i.e. a density of 1,821 inhabitants/km^2, the highest rate for any commune in the country. The rate of growth for the recent past is thus very high. It cannot be denied that in the light of such galloping urbanization and growth, it is difficult to interpret accurately the observed phenomena.

Habitat in the urban commune is still very varied because of the existence of both the urban sector (predominant) and the rural sector which surrounds the former. Nevertheless, the rural sector tends to give way to rapid urbanization.

Even though it is possible to speak of the existence of a purely traditional form of habitat in this commune, modernization of the habitat is taking place at an impressive rate, unequalled anywhere else in the country. According to the administrative authorities, some 500 new modern houses are being built on an average per year over the last three years.

ii) *Socio-political organization*

All the communes in the country, whether rural or urban, are structured in the same way. The administrative organization of Nyarugenge is made up of a burgomaster, aided by a development council, a technical commission, a communal council and 13 communal councillors and Heads of Cells. A permanent staff of 28 persons runs the communal services.

The originality of the urban communes of Ngoma and Nyarugenge as far as organization is concerned lies in that the three above-mentioned bodies are composed not of persons from the two communes in question but of people from the different communes of the prefecture of which they are a part. This diversity is not always beneficial to the communes although they do benefit from exchanges between persons from the various milieux. On the other hand, their efficiency is unequal due to the absence of their own cadres with firm roots in the commune.

iii) *Social organization*

Social organization is similar to that of the other communes, except that the proportion of expatriates is the highest in the country. The native population comprises three ethnic groups : Hutu, Tutsi and Twa. The Tutsi represent between 15 and 19 per cent of the total population of the commune of Nyarugenge, whereas in most other communes their proportion is rarely above 10 per cent. The Tutsi are particularly found in Government service and in commerce. Between 80 and 85 per cent of the Hutu population devote themselves to agriculture, technical trades or the armed forces, and very little to the Civil Service. Finally, the Twa, (about one per cent) confined to the peripheral sectors are engaged in pottery, or are at times in agriculture. The foreign population mainly consists of refugees from Burundi or other bordering countries. Apart from the Burundi (some 1,500 people), the population of European origin is sizeable in the capital. This population is only in temporary residence whereas the Indians (third in scale of importance among foreign residents) have settled permanently and are engaged in commerce.

The traditional power structure has completely disappeared. The country's constitution and the unity in the hierarchy of power forbid any form of counter-power.

The family indirectly participates in the exercise of power through the elections : it does not, however, have an important hold as it had in the traditional context. It should be noted that in the towns the extended family is totally non-existent and the people tend to group together according to their provincial origins.

In the towns, the woman enjoys a privileged position in decision-making, but it is restricted to the level of the family unit only. The inquiry informants are almost all imbued with ideas of equality between the sexes, of decentralization of decision-making power, etc. The woman has her own domain where she takes the decisions (e.g. management of family property) and is consulted on all matters that concern the family.

Individualism becomes common place when individuals get separated from the extended family and abandon some of its fundamental characteristics (work in common, sharing in the smallest details...). Traditionally, the fruits of labour went to the family directly, but in town, the salaries are paid to the individual. Therefore, sharing becomes difficult and even inconceivable.

As regards the forms of organization of power that are foreign to the socio-cultural environment, these are at the origin of acculturation in all fields (to the extent of affecting ways of thought). These are the Church, international organizations, diplomatic representation and so on. Their influence is brought to bear particularly at the level of the community as a whole by introducing cultural models that are often contradictory to those of the traditional Rwandese world. The emergence of the notion of equality between the sexes and of individualism are due to these models and are alien to the original Rwandese culture. As for the societal cleavages, the urban commune of Nyarugenge presents a unique situation which is a mixture of the diverse regional, economic and intellectual situations. In the past, social divisions were based on ethnic groups ; nowadays they have taken on another form with the appearance of class differences based on economic criteria. Likewise, regional solidarities play an important role in personal encounters, and even in appointments to posts of responsiblity. Solidarity, among old students of the same school or University, can also play a role in the formation of specific interest groups within the society.

2. The urban commune of Ngoma.

Unlike Nyarugenge, where the rural part which now constitutes only some unused land area on the outskirts is fast becoming urbanized, the commune of Ngoma maintains a larger and seemingly more stable area of huge agricultural enclaves. This juxtaposition of traditional and modernized sections, with the resulting range of transitional stages that exist between the two extremes, gives Ngoma its own personality, which, as we have mentioned, is already deeply marked by a large student population : a ruralized town, but a University town too.

The commune, whose total population was approximately 19,000 inhabitants in 1978, is subdivided into eight administrative sectors. One of these sectors Butare-Ville, is the seat of a number of institutions : the National University of Rwanda, the National Institute of Pedagogy, the National Institute of Scientific Research, the University Hospital, the commercial district, the residential quarter of Buye and the secondary schools of the School Group, the Social School of Karubanda, the Technical Training Centre (CEFOTEC), the School of Theology, the Teacher Training Centre, and the Small Seminar of Karubanda.

The commune's average altitude is 1,755m. Settlement has taken place on the hilltops and hillsides close to the fertile land, but never in the valleys which are frequently flooded at the end of the rainy season. Habitat takes the form of built-up areas in the districts of the Town Centre (Matyazo, Ngoma, Tumba and Cyarwa-Sumo) or of isolated houses surrounded by a stockade and often concealed between the foliage of banana plantations. The type of dwelling varies from the thatched-roof hut to splendid villas with, in between, a range of modest varied-style houses built in mud brick or hard materials with tiled, metal or asbestos roofs.

The agricultural part of the commune is characterized by small family exploitations of some 0.22 hectares (1970 figures), run by nuclear type families. The division and organization of labour in the family is similar to that practised in the rural areas described earlier. However, in the case of a large number of families in the urban commune of Ngoma, this model has been re-shaped as one or more of the members of the family have taken up paid employment (civil servants, merchants, masons, mechanics, barbers/hair dressers, etc.). These wage-earners are usually the husbands or adult children who give over a part of their salaries to pay for seasonal agricultural workers hired to work under the supervision of their wives.

Both food and commercial crops are cultivated. The former group is very diversified : bananas, beans, sweet potatoes, manioc, sorghum, maize, soya, peas, potatoes. The second group, which is far less important from the point of view of tonnage produced, comprises almost entirely coffee. Although the area under cultivation tend to diminish with the expansion of the built-up area, yield has been increasing substantially thanks to competent technical management.

Stock-rearing, which is another activity in the commune, shows characteristics comparable to the results found in the country as a whole, indicating low economic value of the produce.

The industrial sector is very small and shows signs of decline ; five factories (coffee, flour-mill, saw-mill, forge, joiner's) have closed down. There remains a printing house, another joiner's, an industrial bakery and a number of brick-works. This has led to a certain reduction in salaried employment. A number of industrial establishments have moved to the more important urban centre of Kigali.

The craft industry has remained relatively important and follows closely the traditional system (basket-work, pottery, woodwork, rope-making, tannery). The employment situation does not appear to be highly favourable. Ngoma shows itself to be, on the whole, a rather lethargic town, in sharp contrast to the exceptional demographic growth and social dynamism of Nyarugenge.

II. POPULATION DATA

1. Relations between demography, the kinship system and the urban economic system

The kinship system which structures the demographic graph was originally based on the traditional scheme. The conditions of urban life, particularly in the economic sphere, have a significant impact on this scheme and a considerable influence on the demographic curve, whose organization and growth now depend less on high natality than in the countryside but highlight the impact of migratory currents in both directions : the young are moving into towns, the old are leaving them.

In the urban environment, which is also heavily subjected to the influence of foreign models, everything is monetarized. The cost of a child (considered, moreover, to be higher than that of an adult) is therefore also monetarized, particularly since there is no longer any sharing of expenses as in the rural milieu. The family is obliged to cope with the full cost of children, and experience it as a necessary evil. On the other hand, in cases of normal schooling (with the boarding system) it is to be noted that the schooling costs are much lower than usual : with 3,000 RF (US $3O) a year, the child is given board and lodging by a national institution which is subsidized by the State to cover the rest of the costs. Thus, the cost of a child attending public school is much less than that of a child who is not at school or who goes to a private school. It is only in the latter case that the schooling of the child is considered as a loss of income and a burden, whereas in the other case, schooling is seen as a safe investment.

The urban area of the capital city in fact comprises three types of population as far as social situation is concerned. The *first category* is that in which the woman works (children in this case are kept by a full-time servant who lives with the family). Alongside this well-to-do category is an *average category* (the last in the category of working class employees) which consists of families in which the man has a salaried job and the wife – because she has not has sufficient schooling – stays at home. She looks after her children and at times employs domestic help. Finally, the *third category* is that which is associated with the traditional rural environment. The husband and wife work in the fields and the children are looked after by the wife and the older children.

Unfortunately, during the course of the study, we did not meet any families in which the child had himself gone into paid work. In most families, the older children were still studying and received scholarships for studies from the State.

As parents generally enjoy a relatively high standard of living, the student manages his grant as he pleases, without any parental supervision. When asked whether he was prepared to pool his own resources with the family budget, all children questioned stated that they would agree to an equitable part of their money being handed over to the person in charge of the family finances. Parents agree not to take over the management of their children's money, but consider that a small contribution is vital when the children are living with them.

As concerns the elderly, in an urban area which is growing rapidly, they generally see their retirement in terms of a return to their native soil in the countryside. So as to provide for difficult times and retirement, every employee buys himself some land in the "real" countryside. The elderly therefore settle down in their homes away from the urban environment. They go there to live their last years under the care of the extended family that they rejoin.

It must be borne in mind that in the towns, most people work as civil servants or in the private sector, and retirement thus comes at the age of 55 years. As soon as they return to the extended family, they take up a small trade or go back to agricultural or pastoral activities. One sure thing is that they always try to be productive or useful and not to live off any-one except when critically ill, and this is the case until the day they die. It should be noted that the return of the elderly from the urban to the rural environment takes place without any difficulty on either side. The rural community in this way always recovers its folk, even if they only return due to force of circumstance.

This forced return to the countryside obliges the family and the individual to have a previously-established economic stategy. Thus, one talks of "peasant-civil servant" or "peasant-minister" : the ties to the land hold fast. The system of patrilineal filiation is prevalent throughout the country. Traditionally, marriage is seen as on alliance between two families. In town, however, marriage has become an affair between the girl and the boy. Parents are often invited on the very day of the wedding, or are told of it once the marriage has taken place.

As a result of this, the *kinship system* is tending to lose its relationships with the *productive system*. The nuclear cell is becoming a self-sufficient entity. The management of the property and services is shared between the husband and wife and has nothing to do with that of the extended family to which the man or woman previously belonged.

According to the statements made by officials questioned in the urban commune, individualism is gaining ground day by day with regard to both the parents in the hills *and* the children who are seen as a burden to be discarded as much as possible. In the new conception of the family, everything is budgeted : the husband supervises expenditure but leaves the daily running of the finances to his wife. As we have seen, the cost of a child has been monetarized, and this leads to the need to limit the number of children living under the same roof. It should also be noted that the town – particularly a town in the middle of total transformation like Kigali – is experiencing new kinds of needs and new consumption models. Thus, these transformations have given rise to a new division of labour : men and women now work to earn as much as possible. The work of the man and that of the woman can no longer be distinguished as clearly as in the case of a rural commune. The inhabitants look for models in foreign economic environments although the means available are quite different. It would seem that these models have to a certain extent destroyed the previous kinship system and set up a more individualistic system based on the Western mould, without, however, having managed to build it up successfully. A new society has been created, but it has yet to specify itself clearly. It finds itself in the middle of a total transformation, it is sitting astride the two – traditional and modern – models.

2. Demography – structure and movements

The above-mentioned considerations provide a partial explanation for the population structure of the two major urban areas in Rwanda.

According to recent estimates, the age structure of the population of the two urban communes are as follows :

For *Nyarugenge* – as on 31.12.1976

Total population	27,483	inhabitants, broken down as follow :
– from 0 to 19 years	16,385	=59.6 % of the total
– from 20 to 64 years	10,635	=38.7 % of the total

– over 65 years	463 = 1.7 % of the total.

For *Ngoma* – as on 31.12.1975

Total (Rwandese) population	17,513 inhabitants, broken down as follows:
– from 0 to 19 years	9,035 = 51 % of the total
– from 20 to 64 years	7,910 = 46 % of the total
– over 65 years	508 = 3 % of the total

These figures show a very high proportion of the young population under 20 years, particularly in Kigali, and a relatively small percentage of persons aged 65 years and over – also most marked in Kigali (because the retired go back to the countryside).

In Kigali, as a result of the breath-taking growth over the three years preceding the 1978 census, as we have seen, the population had reached nearly 100,000 inhabitants. The only explanation that can be given for the growth is a very substantial acceleration in immigration. However, no satisfactory interpretation can be put forward for this phenomenon in the current state of the data known to the study team.

On the other hand, in Butare, growth is relatively low : the population increased from 17,513 in 1975 to 18,937 in 1978. Over the same period the birth rate declined from 48 per thousand to 17 per thousand. The growth rate in 1975 was 3 per cent and in 1978 2.2 per cent, the lowest figure in all Rwanda.

In Butare, immigration is much lower than in Kigali. It is particularly in the latter town that considerable income disparities play a role in this. In 1975 for example, the salary of unskilled workers in the town was 2.7 times higher than that paid in the countryside, domestic servants were paid 6 times more and guards 6.5 times more than in rural areas.

With regard to population *structure by professional groups*, the study has revealed the following points for Kigali :

- The proportion of people with a religious vocation, particularly women, is very high (in 1975, more than half the population). This fact is reportedly due to the struggle taking place between the various confessions for influence with the national authorities. These ecclesiastics are to be found either in the Church administrations, schools or evangelical missions.
- Students represent between one quarter and one fifth of the total number of inhabitants in the town. However, those recorded as living in the town live there only part of the time. Besides, it was as difficult to obtain a contribution to the inquiry from them as it was from the ecclesiastics.
- On the other hand, the jobless and marginal groups (approximately a tenth of the total population of the town) supplied more information for the study ; their freedom of expression made it possible to gauge the antagonism existing between town and countryside, to understand the reasons for the rural exodus and to analyse the new need patterns and consumption models.

In Butare, agriculturalists represent 52.2 per cent of the population, students 18 per cent and those without a profession 24 per cent.

Infant and child *mortality* has dropped sharply as a result of progress in the salubrity of dwellings, sanitary installations, etc. Modern medicine is well developed in the capital and no resistance towards its use is noticeable.

An analysis of the 1972 annual report on the health situation, showed that mortality and morbidity are selective, and hit the economically under-privileged classes most severely.

Nuptiality is the phenomenon which has been the most heavily influenced by "westernization". Marriage by consent is preferred to the traditional type of marriage. The age at marriage has risen from 20 to 30 years for boys and from 18 to 25 years for girls. In town the "legitimacy of marriage" is becoming a more flexible concept. Marriage can be understood as a ceremony to which relatives and friends are invited or it can signify the civil ceremony held in the office of the burgomaster or prefect.

Celibacy is widespread in the town and the urban society, unlike the situation in the countryside, accepts it.

Poligamy, although theoretically forbidden by law for marriages contracted after 1962, continues to exist in actual fact in towns, and still enjoys a certain social recognition.

III. SOCIO-CULTURAL DATA CONCERNING POPULATION EDUCATION FOR THE URBAN MILIEU

1. Socialization and social participation in the family context

Although it can not be said that in the urban environment traditional values which constitute a frame of reference have been totally abandoned, there can nevertheless be no doubt that the socio-cultural features concerning socialization have undergone a profound change. The most significant aspects of this change are noted below.

In the towns, *pregnancy* is not surrounded with the minutely-detailed rituals of protection that is already looked upon as a form of advance education for the child to come. These rites have simply been replaced by medical rest. Delivery also takes place under medical supervision.

Infancy is lived through in less constant contact with the mother. The peer group structure no longer exists in its traditional form and has been replaced in schools by the "class group" structure. Nevertheless, certain customs have survived in the urban milieu, such as the practice of *gukuna* among adolescent girls, mentioned earlier in the study of the rural world.

Thus, the *school* plays an all-important role in the socialization process (predominance of secondary over primary socialization). However, one should take account of the significant *influence of the mass media* – radio, cinema, press, street pictures and posters – with which the children come into contact at an early age. These information channels do not respect traditional interdictions and taboos. Thus, for example, the older citizens have nicknamed the radio "the indiscreet". Parents are forced to accept this development and have become resigned to it.

In such conditions, a profound transformation is taking place within the family and intra-family relations.

We said earlier that alongside the officially recognized families there were *atypical* families resulting from marriage by consent. This qualification required further explanation, for any form of marriage is accepted by the people as long as it satisfies the instinct of reproduction. Therefore, there is no marginalization, either in the monogamic or polygamic systems, and it is tolerated by the surrounding society.

The concept of the extended family in the traditional sense has completely disappeared. The nuclear family now establishes friendships with close neighbours or with the emerging social classes, as it was pointed out in reference to the socio-political organization of the urban commune of Nyarugenge. Even when a certain number of ties remain with the extended family, these are characterized by short visits and the children only have very vague ideas of their kinship network. This distortion of the "traditional" notion of the family has repercussions on the decisions taken concerning the management of property, the division of labour and even marriage and procreation.

In respect of the management of the family's property, the husband and wife are jointly [illegible]arge of their affairs – marriage under separation o[illegible]roperty contracts is not yet known in the country. The organization of labour is more diversified in the urban milieu and demands a certain equality of the sexes.

Some people criticize this organization of labour as being at the origin of the profit motive which is at the basis of marriage in the urban environment. "We marry out of 'mutual' interest", say the informants.

This attitude also affects child-bearing : "It's when you think of your well-being that you realize that individual advancement is impossible with a large number of children", and thoughts immediately turn to birth control. Even though greater sexual freedom has led to a toleration of pre- or extra-conjugal births, such cases do remain marginalized. Children are increasingly considered an economic burden although they do still have the same socio-cultural significance. It should also be noted that in the urban environment sterile couples are not put into quarantine as they are in the rural areas.

The attitude towards procreation and the conception of the role of marriage varies from district to district depending on the particular social group, as can be seen in the table below, which was drawn up on the basis of the results of the urban inquiry and clearly shows the differences with the countryside.

2. Sexuality in towns

The inquiries highlight the very sharp contrast between the status of sexuality in urban and rural environments.

In general, the town is seen as the factor behind the break with the prohibitions maintained by the traditional family. The economic dimension of the evolution of public morality has had a big effect on sexuality. Recent studies made of urban development problems by the National Institute of Scientific Research in Butare indicate a big in-

TABLE IX : *SOCIAL GROUPS AND FERTILITY*

	Tradesmen	Civil Servants	Military Personnel	Workers and others
Number of live births	6.8	4.2	4.6	7.6
Number of children (at the time of the inquiry)	6.0	4.1	4.2	6.2
Total number of dependent children (incl. hostels)	7.1	5.1	4.3	6.0
Contraceptive methods	46 %	86 %	52 %	39 %
Ideal number of children	5	4	4	6
Families having used contraceptive methods	13 %	48 %	21 %	4 %
Families under lawful marriage	96 %	64 %	88 %	49 %

crease in the number of "free women" in Kigali (estimated at more than 2,000 in 1974). By this should be understood all those forms of explicit or implicit prostitution observed in African towns experiencing fast demographic growth without the accompanying creation of a regular labour market. Purchasable sex affects both young girls and women who have not received any schooling and have emigrated to the towns in search of a job *and* educated women who are in search of social advancement. The impact of foreign models, the power of money which cannot be controlled by the socio-family system with such moral references and the sizeable differences in income between privileged social groups (particularly civil servants and tradesmen) and less-privileged ones are responsible for these developments. This is so despite the measures taken by the Government to control women's dress habits, deemed to be too provocative, and to send back to the countryside persons of dubious morality (1).

The circuit of "free women" remains tied to the institution of marriage in that marriage is still the essential channel through to respectable and recognized complete social integration, and many free women see their activities as a way towards marriage, by often accepting the new forms of polygamy practised by well-to-do classes.

It is certain that the social imbalances linked with the phenomena mentioned above may arise from the lack of any real population education in the school or out-of school education structures, once families have ceased to be the institution responsible for the unfailing reproduction of the socialization models. It is not merely a matter of sex education – which is of course vital – but of family life education attuned to an education for development which takes into account all the factors involved in the quest for individual harmony that is closely linked to collective life.

3. Influence of the religious system on behaviours relating to population problems in the urban milieu

The situation of religious problems in the urban environment of Nyarugenge is paradoxical. On the one hand, as we have pointed out, it presents a social sector where the presence of the Christian Church is most developed. On the other hand, it is also the social sector which has become the most liberated, in everyday behaviour, from the norms of religious morals which govern the family and sexuality. In Ngoma, the presence of the Church is less important, but the gap separating current attitudes and traditional morality is narrower.

The inquiries conducted enabled us to set out an indicative typology of the religious behaviours with which population-related issues are connected.

In the upper social strata and in the "ruling classes", three types of reactions are to be found :

- the elite of convinced Christians, receptive, where it concerns Catholics, to the new conciliar guidelines and respectful of the attitude of the Catholic Church with regard to population problems : the respect for life prevails above all else, but a solution to the population/resources imbalances is sought to be found through development and by regulating the compatible population growth through the "law of nature" ;
- the moderate Christians who remain attached to the laws of the Church but who are guided by practical considerations ;
- intellectuals who have deliberately freed themselves from the religious norms, reason in terms of efficiency and do not reject family planning through medical means.

The middle classes remain on the whole strongly influenced by very conventional religious faith and practices and apply the traditional doctrine of the Church in the matter of procreation. This is all the more so because the "pro-natalist" cultural tradition in Rwanda is totally consistent with this doctrine in its absolute respect for fertility.

The lower social classes present the image of contradictory behaviours. On the one hand, the vestiges of the peasant cultural tradition and particularly its outlook towards fertility remain strong and, on the other hand, practical, economic and social difficulties have brought people to abandon such views in a number of cases. Moreover, these observations need to be applied according to the generation to which a person belongs. Thus young people tend to move further away from the traditional religious world than their parents.

IV. THE SCHOOL IN THE URBAN MILIEU AND ITS ROLE IN RESPECT OF POPULATION PROBLEMS

The same approach used above for the study of the rural milieu will be followed here by observing that, to begin with, school symbolises access to the modern world, whose models are closely identifiable with urban life. The school already symbolises the elementary presence of the town in the countryside and will remain so until such time as the system of education has been profoundly changed – the objective of the Reform of Education. All that was said about the school in the rural environment applies to the urban world too, but is amplified several times over.

1. Socialization through the school

For the young child in the town, the school represents the reference point for initiation into society even before he starts attending. He has a certain knowledge of the school through his older brothers and sisters who already go to school and through them receives advance, informal initiation in school behaviour.

After joining the school, class origin becomes an important factor, bringing about differentiation in the socialization processes. Towards the lower end of the social hierarchy – the lower middle and working classes – the distortion between the societal model presented by the school and the actual system in which the family and the child live, is either big or very big. Parents have difficulty in understanding the procedures and rules of school training which they themselves did not experience as students. They respect them because of the prestige attached to the symbol of economic and social advancement they represent. The child is aware of the same notion of prestige, but finds a place of freedom – at times a place of excessive freedom shunning any social control – between the norms of the school and those of the family which are unrelated to each other. Then, the inquiries reveal that parents complain of certain after-effects of the school, which encourages children – especially girls – to extreme degrees of sexual freedom, thus liberating the child from family control and giving him or her a taste for profit and luxury. These fears give rise to fixed ideas in parents' minds which tend to complicate the strategy needed to introduce population education in the school. For example, the interviewers noted parents' apprehension about information courses on human sexuality, which they are afraid would encourage children to put their knowledge to abusive use. Thus, one can show how necessary it is to combine education for the children with education for the adults, particularly since it is envisaged that the school should lead on to social applications and help bring about in the society a change geared to development. Hence the need to re-establish the necessary cohesiveness between the role of the family and that of the school in the socialization process. This leads us to examine the teaching methods practised in Rwandese schools.

---

(1) The essential part of the study referred to has been published in an article, Vandersypen, M. "Femmes libres de Kigali" in *Cahiers d'études africaines*, Paris, EHESS – Mouton, Vol. XVII N° 65, 1977, pp 95-120.

2. Teaching methods and population education

Parents do visit the school, but generally only when they have been invited by the teacher. In other words, visits are made only when something abnormal in the child's studies occurs or, simply, when parents' meetings are held.

It is to be noted that the grounds for summoning the parents are not the same in the towns as those observed in the villages. In the rural areas, reasons often involve late arrival or uncleanliness of the child, whereas in the towns the teachers talk of the progress, or lack of it, in the child's intellectual development.

Most teachers agree that the children follow the practical norms of social behaviour sufficiently well. On the other hand, in the urban environment the advice given by the teacher is more of an intellectual nature. The level of education is given high priority.

The prevailing sentiment concerning the structure of education (especially in primary school) is that the focus of general knowledge is restricted to reading and writing, particularly French and mathematics. The interviewees believe that as far as children are concerned, it should not be assumed that they would value general knowledge on the basis of its practical usefulness. "There is no such compartmentalization as at the University", is another comment heard. Today, the equality of the sexes should firstly be preached in the school before it is applied in social life. Most of the teachers think that all differences in access to education between the two sexes should be abolished and it should be seen as a means of social advancement for both, whilst respecting, nevertheless the generally accepted priority, not to say primacy, with regard to the boy's economic and social integration. The teachers who are also parents in their own right – take the same view as that expressed in the rural milieu according to which, if there was a place to be offered to a girl or a boy, then it should be given to the boy, for it is he "who has to fight more than a girl to earn a living, for a girl, once married, comes under the protection of her husband. The contrary has never been known to occur in everyday life". This does not fail to have an effect on the teaching methods adopted.

The strict adherence of pedagogical practice to the content of the manuals, is imposed by the contralized structure of school administration : the inspectors are in constant contact with the teachers who therefore cannot escape this form of control and have little latitude for individual adaptation. However, most of the manuals themselves give examples taken from daily life and the teacher retains some freedom to expand upon them so as to facilitate comprehension of the subject taught. But the teacher makes up for this during the observation classes and the debates associated with them, and these classes meet with favourable reactions on the part of the students. Where is the place for population education in this context ? It is to be observed that it is not at all institutionalized. It is up to the individual teacher to take the initiative ; but he has to do so with a certain amount of care, as national policy in this area has not yet been set down clearly. Furthermore, the lack of background material and information on population education compels the teacher to deal with no more than generalities.

It is only at the level of the secondary school that the teacher is required to talk of sex education during biology classes. The demography course is only given in the social sections. The schools in Kigali, however, do not offer this option. Generally speaking, the teacher is constrained by the demands for strict conformity with the manuals despite the good will he frequently demonstrates in opening out to population problems with specific reference to the urban milieu.

One can thus appreciate the extent to which the choices involved in introducing a population education programme that responds to the problems spotlighted by the study call for work on the content as well as on the methods and structures of education.

CHAPTER IV

OVERALL INTERPRETATION : THE SOCIAL DYNAMICS AS SHOWN UP BY THE ANALYSIS OF THE STUDY AND THE GENERAL DEFINITION AND GOALS OF POPULATION EDUCATION

The analysis of the socio-cultural data from the rural and urban milieux enabled the team in charge of the study to identify a certain number of elements which would give an overall interpretation of the social dynamics as a basis for defining the issues involved in the planning and implementation of population education. These conclusions are still totally open to comment and criticism and may be used as a preamble for a preliminary indicative step towards the implementation of an education strategy.

I. OVERALL SOCIAL DYNAMICS : INTERPRETATION

The document which provided the sum of socio-cultural data also included a summative analytical table which has been reproduced below. It is a comparative table which puts into perspective, in the form of a grid devloped around themes considered most significant, the characteristics of the rural world and the urban world.

In Chapter V, we shall take up the themes highlighted by this synthesis and endeavour to find in them those topics which would appear to constitute the essential components of a population education programme.

The table selected three levels of social reality for comparison in terms of the themes selected for the grid :

- overall society
- the family (as the basic unit of society)
- the individual (through three lines of inquiry : parents, adolescents, teachers)

The suggested diagnosis concerns the various combinations observed in the dynamics of the confrontation between the traditional model and the modernization model. The significant sequences that have been selected are arranged under the following codes :

- ++ situation of radical change, installation of the modern system ;
- + advanced change with predominance of the modern system ;
- ± confrontation between the two systems in an unstable situation ;
- – absence of dynamics of change in relation to tradition.

The two environments that were studied differ in several ways : in connection with *natural resources and their exploitation*, the rural commune lives on a traditional type agricultural system based largely on subsistence farming with a variety of crops and archaic technology. The non-existence of any farming surplus (the source and at the same time the consequence of a subsistence economy) explains the lack of savings and investment and the maintainance of the closed cycle of underdevelopment.

As for the urban commune, it encompasses almost all the modern production structures of any size : factories, banks, etc. It has the greatest capacity for savings and investment in the whole country and all forms of production are operated from the capital (even rural projects).

Between these two environments, there can be no comparison of the extent of public investment contributing to development. It is to be wondered what sort of *relationship exist between this production system and the kinship system*. There can be no doubt that the two are in some way linked by a relationship of reciprocal influence. The archaic technology used in the countryside requires a heavy concentration of labour force and a particular type of distribution of tasks among members of the family who automatically share the fruit of their labours with each other. In the urban milieu, the development of the secondary and tertiary sectors calls upon the individual to specialize in his area of work. He becomes an individual and develops an individual system of demands. In the towns, the heavy concentration of people also gives rise to new patterns of needs and all this begins to challenge the *socio-political organization of the milieu*.

Foreign cultures have more impact in the towns than in the countryside : amongst other novelties, it has introduced individualism and equality between the sexes, and has thus suppressed the tradition and social divisions to impose a new model. But, the influence of this foreign socio-cultural environment is particularly felt in the area of *integration and social participation*. The rural milieu – it might be said – has remained at a distance and kept intact a large part of its practices, concerning pregnancy, initiation, communication of interdictions, etc. On the other hand, the town is experiencing a big upheaval at the origin of which are the mass media.

In principle, the mass media are a marvellous opportunity for all ages to be informed of population data and their analysis. However, these media are concentrated to a large extent in the urban areas and only have a minor impact on the rural population which suffers from almost total ignorance of demographic phenomena and their relationships with economic problems. One is obliged to acknowledge that the number of births remains very high both in the countryside and the town. On the other hand, migratory movements are only centering on the towns (rural exodus).

These observations are related to the formulation of a national population policy which is as yet little advanced. Nevertheless there is growing awareness among families and invividuals concerning this problem which affects more and more all the sections of the population (particularly in the urban milieu) and tends to bring about changes in the traditional concepts of *family and fertility*. This new awareness has to nevertheless confront a relative powerful obstacle : *the religious system and its influence on population-related behaviours.* All the religions that wield great influence in Rwanda are pro-natalist.

If the family, which had appeared so untouchable, is now being brought up as the subject of discussion and debate, what to say about a domain which has been taboo for a long time, *sexuality ?* In this regard, learning is most individualised, particularly in the rural milieu where the mass media reveal the existence of the lack of knowledge mentioned earlier. Only radio ("the indiscreet") can still transmit to these milieux certain snippets of information in this area. Apart from this possibility, the young man or woman has to wait for the appropriate age for initiation practices, one of the ways of acquiring sexual identity. Whether in the rural or urban environment, the influence of foreign inputs is important : the Church, the school, and so forth, introduce the Rwandese to an ambiguous model, which is both rejected and admired at the same time, accepted and forbidden according to the norms selected and the class of origin. This ambiguity is particularly obvious in the area of sexual relations and behaviours. It also reveals certain general development-derived problems which should lead to the formulation of comprehensive and coherent models. It is in this context that options for population education are situated.

II. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF POPULATION EDUCATION

In this section we shall reproduce almost the entire text of the proposals put forward by the Rwandese study team, and then go on to include some considerations and additional suggestions concerning the content and the structure of operational programmes.

Population education is an almost vital need for men and women who are moving into a modernized society, whether of rural or urban origin.

So that this education can reach its objectives, it should be imparted at two levels : firstly at communal level, and secondly in the schools.

At communal level, it would be feasible and effective only if the political authorities are trained first. The seven case studies set out above enabled us to observe that the majority of the communal authorities are not really concerned with population problems and do not see their immediate or more long-term importance.

Yet, it is absolutely vital that the teachers, social animators and doctors, who would be in charge of teaching population education to the peasants, whether young or adult, have the approval and support of the political authorities.

In the schools, traditionally, population phenomena such as birth rate, death rate, fertility and migration are taught in the secondary school during geography lessons. However, human physiology and sexuality are hardly ever taught anywhere except at medical school. Therefore, it is on the basis of these two subjects that population education-related innovations should be made.

Emphasis should naturally be placed on sexual education, as this is an important factor in the development of the mental health of the individual and of society at large.

Teaching sexuality at school poses problems related to the training of *teachers* and that of the students' age. During the trial period, it would seem to us judicious to entrust these courses only to teachers of natural sciences (biology, chemistry) and doctors. Opinion polls conducted have revealed the existence of a high degree of modesty in the other teachers about matters of sexuality and human physiology. It is difficult to determine exactly the age at which students could be taught sex education because of the diversity in their temperaments and in their socio-cultural milieux of origin. Nevertheless, it would seem that the ideal age is between 15 and 16 years, i.e. at the end of the first cycle of secondary school or at the beginning of the second cycle. Interest in the other sex should be well developed by the time young people are in the middle of adolescence.

TABLE X : *ANALYTIC TABLE OF THE SOCIAL SITUATION*

Level of Society / Major Themes	Rural milieu					Urban milieu				
	Overall Society	Family (base unit)	Individual			Overall Society	Family (base unit)	Individual		
			Parent	Ado-lescent	Teacher			Parent	Ado-lescent	Teacher
Economic organization	±	±	±	+	++	++	++	+	++	++
Commercialization of production	±	+	±	+	++	++	–	±	±	++
Division of labour	–	±	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Distribution of products inside and outside the family	–	±	±	±	±	±	+	±	+	+
Responsibility for the elderly	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Child considered as a resource	–	±	±	±	+	+	+	±	+	++
Quest for a different activity	–	–	–	+	++	+	++	±	++	++
Children's future (with optimism)	–	±	±	+	++	++	++	++	+	++
Cost of non-monetarized child	–	–	–	±	+	+	+	+	±	++
Changing behaviour towards initiation rites	–	–	–	–	–	±	±	–	±	+
Socialization process differentiated according to sex	–	–	–	–	±	±	–	–	±	±
Parents expectations from school	–	–	–	±	±	+	±	–	±	±
Mode of transmission of values	–	±	–	±	+	±	±	–	±	+
Values to be transmitted	±	–	–	±	±	±	±	–	±	+
Satisfaction about educational contents	–	–	–	–	±	+	+	±	+	++
Qualities expected of a woman who marries	±	–	–	±	++	++	+	+	++	++
Qualities expected of a man who marries	–	–	–	±	+	+	+	±	++	++
Changing behaviour in respect of fertility	–	–	–	±	±	+	+	±	++	++
Behaviour in respect of religion	–	±	–	+	+	±	+	±	++	±
Ideal size of family	–	–	–	±	–	±	±	±	+	+
Desire that first-born be a son	–	–	–	±	–	–	±	–	±	±
Attitudes towards large families	–	–	–	±	±	–	±	±	±	+
Attitudes towards sterility	–	–	–	–	±	±	±	–	+	+
Attitudes towards polygamy	±	±	–	+	+	±	±	±	++	++

Major Themes \ Level of Society	Rural milieu					Urban milieu				
	Overall Society	Family (base unit)	Individual			Overall Society	Family (base unit)	Individual		
			Parent	Adolescen	Teacher			Parent	Adolescent	Teacher
Attitudes towards celibacy	–	–	–	–	±	±	±	–	++	±
Attitudes towards virginity (as being important)	–	–	–	±	±	±	–	–	±	+
Attitudes towards venereal diseases	–	–	–	–	±	–	–	–	±	+
Attitudes concerning the (superiority of) traditional medicine	±	±	±	+	+	+	+	±	+	+
Attitudes towards contraceptive methods	–	–	–	–	±	±	±	±	++	±
Attitudes concerning (voluntary) abortion	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Attitudes concerning migration	–	±	–	±	+	++	+	±	+	+
Attitudes towards demographic growth	–	±	±	±	+	±	+	±	+	+
Lack of awareness of relationship between demographic growth and drop in living standards	–	–	–	±	++	+	+	±	+	+
Contacts with parents in the home	±	±	±	±	+	+	++	+	++	++
Parents and the school	±	+	±	±	+	++	++	+	++	+

This table shows that the urban environment is far more committed to modernism but has not yet made a total break with traditionalism. In certain themes, such as changing behaviour towards initiation rites or voluntary abortion, it is not possible to talk of distortion or change : traditionalism is holding fast both in the town and in the countryside. On the other hand it is to be observed that modernism has gained a hold over the other themes in both environments : for example attitudes expected of a woman who marries or attitudes towards polygamy.

CHAPTER V

TOWARDS WHAT SORT OF POPULATION EDUCATION ?

The socio-cultural case study conducted in Rwanda, the results of which are analyzed above, has underlined the importance and the complexity of introducing population education. It is not within the frames of reference of this work to define programmes and contents for operationalization. It is possible, however, at the present moment, to begin listing appropriate institutions or structures for such courses and suggesting possible methods and contents. As an introduction, we can also briefly outline a set of considerations bearing on the orientation of possible lines of action. These considerations are based not simply on the proposals made by the team responsible for the study, but also include suggestions made by the Population Education Section and the consultant who was in charge of preparing and finalizing the synthesis.

I. CONSIDERATIONS AS TO ORIENTATION

To start with, it is important to bear in mind the *paradox* in the Rwandese situation : on the one hand, it involves one of the situations in the world where the pressure of *demographic growth is the highest* in a context which is close to a breaking point in the equilibrium between population and directly accessible resources ; and on the other hand, where the *cultural traditions show the greatest respect for fertility*, which is considered an essential value in human life. How can these two, economics and culture, be reconciled ?

This preliminary consideration has not escaped the attention of either the Rwandese authorities or those other organizations invited by them to suggest solutions (especially the mission of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities – UNFPA – in February 1979). It calls for the development of two additional lines of approach :

- action to increase resources,
- action to enable the Rwandese people themselves to exercise a better control over population questions which is culturally meaningful.

This calls for establishing a sequence, in which the possible policies and programmes can be implemented in the short, medium and long terms, with the appropriate objectives at each stage and consequent priority and immediate lines of action.

In view of the importance of cultural factors, the approach through education is crucial. Its aims could be defined as follows : to allow all men and women in the country, taking into account the differences between generations and those based on social situations and regional characteristics, access to knowledge and skills necessary to take decisions concerning population questions in the widest sense, leading to the most harmonious development possible for all and the optimum use of the resources of the environment. Population education thus constitutes an essential component of education for development and of environmental education.

In this sense, the inclusion of population-related issues in school, and in the education system as a whole, leads to a second consequence : education's receptiveness to the economic, social and cultural realities relevant to development. Such an orientation is likely to contribute to educational renewal and to help attain the objectives of the educational reform which is being prepared and which notably seeks to "adapt education to the Rwandese socio-economic milieu". (1)

Population questions can also help establish links between school and out-of-school education, since it concerns both young people and adults and calls for a more balanced organization of the relations between them.

II. POSSIBLE CHANNELS FOR PROGRAMMES

Any population education programme should take into consideration the aims and activities of the Consultative Scientific Council for Socio-Demographic Problems (CSC). This Council, created in 1974 and chaired by the General Secretary of the Ministry of Social Affairs and of the Co-operative Movement, is an inter-ministerial body with which the Ministry of National Education is associated and which aims to advise the Government in the following way :

- "Study all problems connected with demographic growth and its impact on economic development" ;
- "Assess the importance of the influence of population growth on the socio-economic development of Rwanda" ;
- "Propose solutions for achievement of a balance between production and population growth" ;

---

(1) See particularly *Projet de réforme de l'enseignement primaire*, Ministry of National Education, Kigali, 1974.

- "Propose to the competent authorities the best methods for introducing family planning into health education courses" (1).

In this framework, the UNFPA mission prepared a project to "put into operation Government efforts to inform and train the personnel necessary for the promotion of awareness and *education* among the population with a view to its increased participation in the solution of the demographic problem". Indeed, this constitutes one of the important elements of a population education policy, whose aims are much wider in scope and involve a certain number of structural decisions. In effect, stress was placed until recently on strengthening family planning which was to be integrated into the health education activities operated by the maternal and child health services. However, it is also proposed – and the conclusion of the socio-cultural study highlights this particularly – to provide *sex education* to adolescents as a preparatory measure and a complement to family planning education which can not be confined to a restricted stage. If one was to take into account the impact of cultural values – so important in Rwanda – which preclude any separation of questions of procreation from their environment, then one should certainly talk of *family life education*. But it is just as much a matter of *environmental education*, providing an elementary course on the preservation of natural resources in its relation to population pressure on the ecosystem.

From this point of view, particularly appropriate structures to undertake the designing and implementation of such a wide ranging policy can be developed under the aegis of the general mission entrusted with the Consultative Scientific Council.

On a nationwide scale, the launching of the socio-cultural study for population education, carried out by the National Institute of Pedagogy, has made it possible to set up a basic core of research work which could be expanded to cover additional relevant areas such as economics, nutrition, health, etc., and make up the basis for a permanent research unit. This research unit for population education could elaborate, along the guidelines set out by the CSC and in close co-operation with it, the contents and methods of population education programmes for introduction in the different levels of the educational system – both school and out-of-school – and organize the training of educational personnel selected to implement such programmes.

This permanent mission could organize its activities in coordination with other projects which envisage the organization of awareness seminars and information sessions for national officials ; but it should focus on the deeper and technical aspects of training geared to the specific needs of population education.

Possible channels for the introduction of population education would in practice involve two main sectors :

1. The school system

It is generally agreed that the post-primary level is best-placed for the introduction of this type of education – at least in the initial stage, as was observed at the end of Chapter IV – until the changes brought about by the implementation of the educational reform make it possible to introduce it into the primary level.

Thus, the structure for the introduction of population education for boys leaving primary school and not going on to secondary school (90 per cent of enrolments) would be the *Centres of Rural and Craft Education of Rwanda* (CERAR), and for girls it would be the *Family Sections*. These institutions are very likely to expand. Their task of ensuring the social and economic integration of young people through training that is adapted to the environment is perfectly consistent with the aims of population education as it is understood in its widest sense. The CERAR educators should be given priority among the target group to be selected for the training suggested in relation to the above-mentioned research unit in the National Institute of Pedagogy.

In the secondary school, as we pointed out earlier, the socio-cultural study team suggested the selection of the *last year of the first cycle of secondary education* for more precise and thorough population education courses. But it could be also envisaged that preparatory courses be given in the first years and more elaborate ones in later years – matching with the training given to the educators.

2. The out-of-school sector

The best channel for population education strategies seems to be the commune, which is seen increasingly as the basic unit for all development policies. The setting up of a co-ordinating system for all lifelong training activities in the commune should be welcomed as a particularly appropriate and innovatory initiative. The Communal Animator, in association with the Social Assistant and the director of the Social Hostel, is not only responsible for the Communal Animation Unit but also runs the "Communal Lifelong Training Service " (SCFP) which groups together all personnel with training responsibility in the various areas (social assistant, youth leader, agricultural assistant, veterinary assistant, co-operative leader, hygiene officer). The training method adopted consists in organizing groups of ten persons, each with a leader, according to categories : "heads of family", "mothers", "young boys" and "young girls", and providing the leaders regular lifelong training which they then pass on to their group. This method appears to be particularly suited for population education.

The Communal Development and [illegible]elong Training Centre could thus constitute a relay [illegible]on for training activities reaching out to the heart of the rural population, right at the very centre of the basic social structures, and make use of *methods of participatory education and "conscientisation"*.

The fact that the communal social hostels have been working for so long now and on such a wide scale to promote the status of women should facilitate the promotion of awareness in the milieu.

It goes without saying that awareness and commitment on the part of the local political leaders is a vital condition for the success of the education programme envisaged. The Seminars intended for the training of the diverse categories of personnel should take care of this requirement.

---

(1) Presidential Order N° 128/0612 of 17 June 1974.

III. PROCESSES, CONTENTS AND METHODS OF POPULATION EDUCATION

The dossier of data compiled during the socio-cultural study in the seven communes represents a substantial body of material for developing teaching instruments for the various programmes to be planned. Further detailed and systematic research should be carried out on certain specific points – such as the psychology of adolescents in respect of population questions.

Plans should be made, particularly, to prepare a source book for Rwandese teachers dealing with such topics as population questions, economic and social development, sexuality and national culture, covering the assembled data that are most directly applicable to teaching. This source book could be prepared by the team of the National Institute of Pedagogy with the assistance of necessary complementary expertise. In view of the size of the problem in a context such as that in Rwanda where population questions are so urgent, this educational programme would do well to turn to active and participatory pedagogical methods for analysing the problems, their causes and consequences and the possible solutions for the development of resources and to slow down population growth.

Establishing a link between adult education and education for young people (at post-primary and secondary levels) should boost the effectiveness of both : integrating education in this way into the daily life of the community would contribute towards educational innovation since it would constantly bring up the issue of practical utility in regard to both methods and content. The community, which would be constantly present via the group of adults undergoing training, acquires some kind of a "right to inspect" teachers' practices and thus encourages them to share with it the responsibility for education.

This action could be further strengthened through parallel supporting programmes in the area of social communication and in the media (radio, press).

As regards the content of the courses, the analysis of the dossiers provides us with the basis for developing a *theme framework*. The major lines of emphasis will be outlined below as they are related to the principal features of population education.

1. Population and development education

This comprises a series of themes related to :

- *The history of Rwanda, its population, its social relationships* before colonization and evolution in the social relationships during the colonial period and since independence.

This historical investigation which is important for the creation of an awareness of cultural identity, should enable the student to situate within a given policy framework, the goals of development and the means adopted to attain them, particularly the essential role of rural development. The history course should be introduced at all levels of training : primary, secondary and higher levels. The aim is to look at history from the development point of view.

- *Rural development*. This major theme is important for all training activities that lead to employment, particularly the post-primary programmes – CERARs and Family Sections for adolescents of both sexes. The present curricula of rural CERARs provide for courses on rural and co-operative economics in the second and third years. It would be important to include in them the population issues that have been raised in the rural dossier presented above, particularly the advantages accruing from the intensification and modernization of productive techniques combined with appropriate measures taken to preserve the soil's fertility (integrated association between agriculture and stock-rearing), and to improve the balance between food-crop self-sufficiency and the expansion of the market economy, etc.

- *Population and development*. Study of the relationship between the development of usable resources and demographic pressure – taking into account natural population growth and migration – together with the evolution of the employment situation.

This theme also involves adult training courses in the Communal training centres, as they were organized in the Communal Action Plan for June 1975. However, the subject is only indirectly and implcitly included, whereas in fact it deserves to be dealt with in an explicit fashion so that it can support the drive for greater awareness of population and development problems, which requires access to a minimum hard core of knowledge and ideas.

- *Introduction to programming methods*. How to manage the future, how to foresee, on the basis of simple indications, which constraints will arise as the various situations evolve : the changes in the needs, in the resources and in population structures. What one needs to develop is an attitude of mind. Practical work on the evolution of a given commune, such as demographic changes, its effects on the employment situation, the mobilization and utilization of the resources to face up the needs, etc., could be usefully included in the communal training programmes.

2. Environmental education

This introduces a whole range of subjects which can be related to the general area of "study of the milieu" included in the CERAR and to the "General education" (where they run along with the "religion" class) included in the Family Sections.

For population education purposes, it would be important to provide training in the more up-to-date and efficient methods of discovering the eco-system and the biological equilibrium that it represents (in each of the regions of Rwanda : the eco-system of the high altitude forests, the eco-system of the agrarian landscape of the middle altitude hills, and the savannah eco-system of the Eastern plateau. This training component could be included right from the primary level, where it would consist of the basic knowledge which would be supplemented and elaborated as one goes up the different levels so as to give each individual the knowledge he needs to participate in the management of the life heritage to which he has access. Population questions are automatically integrated into it, to the extent that it involves the assessment of the ways in which human life and the pressure it exerts by what it produces, consumes and destroys, affect the regulation or equilibrium of these eco-systems.

3. Family life education

Such an education already exists in some way, particularly in the social hostels in their work to promote the status of women, and in the Family Sections. However, very often they are given in a highly traditional manner : family morals, civic education, child care, antenatal hygiene, child education, practical hygiene, personal hygiene, social hygiene and good manners.

It is to be noted how important the notion of hygiene is here, stressing as it does a concept very close to the health domain, whereas very little is said of the management of inter-personal relations within the family. This educational endeavour is essentially presented as normative.

For population Education purposes, the analysis of the content of the study dossiers could lead to greater priority being given to inductive teaching : starting from the analysis of real life in the family context in present-day Rwanda and then considering points which could help to establish the best possible balances within the following general theme area : socialization of the child – boy and girl – the relationships between the generations, the couple, parents and children ; marriage; fertility; family and community economics; nutrition; health; family planning; to give only a few examples.

After this could come the range of sub-themes dealing with more practical subjects : the various categories of hygiene, child care, home economics, etc. Family life education, seen in this way, could take its place in the training given to young and older men, and not just to young girls and women.

4. Education for sexual and affective responsibility

We have seen the obstacles that cultural traditions place in teaching sexuality issues within the school curriculum. Of course, these attitudes will only very gradually disappear, and even then on condition that parental motivations be taken into due consideration and that the advantages and disadvantages connected with the development of such programmes be discussed.

The subject of the physiology of reproduction and human sexuality is for example inseparable from the *cultural, social and emotional values* attached to it. In Rwanda more than anywhere else, family contraception and fertility can only be approached by taking into ccount the individual and societal cultural representatons of sexuality and fertility. The use of Kinyarwanda as the communication vehicle to tackle these subjects could guarantee respect for this aspect of cultural values.

This overview of the problems of present-day educational practices in Rwanda gives a clear indication of the fact that education, the mirror of the socio-cultural system and, at the same time, the source of the social models and cultural patterns for the future, remains deeply influenced by the tensions existing as a ressult of two different ways of looking at the world – that of tradition and that of modernity – which do not automatically keep in step with each other. Just as much as the formal school system has a certain unwieldiness to overcome – traditions from a former exogenous educational system – the dynamics of the out-of-school, informal educational structure seem to contain the seeds of creativity. The greatest danger would lie in a radical, artificial separation being created between the two. The dynamism of the out-of-school sector should be passed on to the formal system, and the latter would thus provide the guarantee that there would then be a profound impact on the institutions. Here, as population education would be a part of both systems, through both logic and necessity, it should make an important contribution to this dynamism, and would help dealing with the whole question of development.

In this educational theme framework, we have only outlined a few important points It is only on the basis of the existing local structures that a real operational programme can be started up. Nevertheless, there is one point which seems to us to be fundamental in respect of population education : all its components must be treated in all their inter-relationships – such is the basic requirement of endogenous development, which can only be global.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Colin, R. and Mollet, A.	"La participation face aux valeurs traditionnelles du Rwanda". in *Développement et Civilisations*, N° 39-40. IRFED, Paris, 1970, pp. 113-131.
Gakwaya, D. and Kameya, A.	"Conditions de vie des femmes rwandaises. Annexe : "l'inkwano (dot) au Rwanda", *Dialogue*, N° 73, Kigali, March-April 1979.
Hanf, T. et al.	*Education et développement au Rwanda, Problèmes Apories – Perspectives.* Weltforum Verlag, Munich, 1974.
Kagame, A.	*Un abrégé de l'Ethno-histoire du Rwanda.* Two volumes. Editions Universitaires du Rwanda, Butare 1972.
Kagame, A.	*Les organisations socio-familiales de l'ancien Rwanda.* Académie Royale des Sciences Coloniales, Brussels, 1954.
Lacroix, B.	*Le Rwanda. Mille heures au pays des milles collines.* Ed. du Levrier, Montreal, 1966.
Maquet, J.	*Le système des relations sociales dans le Rwanda ancien.* Tervuren, Belgium, 1954.
Ministry of Education	*Rapport Annuel : Statistiques de l'enseignement : année scolaire 1975-1976,* mimeo.
Ministry of Youth	*Compte-rendu des travaux du Premier Séminaire National des Responsables des Projets en faveur de la Jeunesse*, Kigali, 1975.
Ministry of Planning	*Projet du Deuxième Plan Quinquennal de développement économique, social et culturel.* 2 volumes ; Kigali, 1977 mimeo.
Ministry of Planning,	*Avant-Projet de plan d'Action Communale*, Kigali, 1975 mimeo.
Mukarugomwa, V.	*L'éducation dont la jeune fille rwandaise moderne a le plus besoin.* Degree in Sciences of Education, National Institute of Pedagogy, Butare, 1979, not printed.
Mulenzi, J.	"Evolution des structures sociales rwandaises sous l'influence du Christianisme et du développement", in *Cum Paraclito*, Special issue 1969, Nyundo 1969, pp. 69-74.
Muswahili, P.	"L'année Internationale de la Femme au Rwanda", in *Au Cœur de l'Afrique*, N° 3, Presses Lavigerie, Bujumbura, 1975, pp. 123-128.
Muswahili, P.	"Education traditionnelle au Rwanda", in *Au Cœur de l'Afrique*, N° 5, Presses Lavigerie, Bujumbura, 1974, pp. 253-278.
Muswahili, P.	"Mariage rwandais d'aujourd'hui et problèmes posés aux jeunes", in *Rencontres*, N° 3, National Institute of Pedagogy, Butare, 1976, pp. 83-98.
Muswahili, P.	"Vie familiale au Rwanda, Paradis ou enfer ?", in *Periscope*, second year, N° 1, National Institute of Pedagogy, Butare, 1978-1979.
Ndengejeho, P.B.	*L'apport étranger et les disparités dans l'enseignement secondaire rwandais*, Sorbonne, Paris, May 1976, University degree.

Ndimurukundo, N. "Une théorie de développement : le bien-être Ujamaa en Tanzanie", in *Au Coeur de l'Afrique*, N° 6, Presses Lavigerie, Bujumbura, 1976, pp. 312-336.

Niyibizi, F. "Les conditions morales de l'entr'aide pour le développement", in *Urunana*, N° 34, 12th year, Nyakibanda, Butare, 1978, pp. 11-25.

Ntahobari, M. *Analyse Rétrospective du Système Scolaire Rwandais*, Paper presented in the framework of the IIPE Training Course, Unesco, Paris, 1976.

Ntirugirimbabazi, D. *Les caractéristiques socio-économiques du Rwanda*, Paper presented at the International Congress for Medico-Social Sciences, Gtsenyi, Report of Activity, October 1973.

Rumiya, J.G. *La Région occupée par l'ancienne commune Mukura 1897-1975*, Historical Study, University Degree, National University of Rwanda, 1978.

Sebudanga, A. "Le phénomène d'acculturation au Rwanda", in *Dialogue*, N° 76, Kigali, September-October 1979.

Sirven, P. et al. *Géographie du Rwanda*, Editions A. de Boeck, Brussels, Editions Rwandaises, Kigali, 1974.

Sylvestre, R.E. *Rwandais et Assistants Techniques face à la participation*, IRFED, Paris, 1968.

Socio-cultural case study for population education in the United Republic of Tanzania

Study realized by Issa M. Omari and Suliman A.Sumra, Department of Education, University of Dar-es-Salaam

Population Education Section, Paris.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Pages

FOREWORD 171

INTRODUCTION 173

CHAPTER I. THE SOCIAL-ECONOMIC, DEMOGRAPHIC, POLITICAL AND CULTURAL FRAMEWORK OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA 174

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND 174

GEOGRAPHICAL DATA 174

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS 175

1) Size and growth rate 175
2) Fertility and Mortality 175
3) Marriage customs 175
4) Dependency Ratio 176
5) Population Distribution 176
6) Migration 176

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS 177

The Primary Sector 177
The Secondary Sector 177
Transport and Communications 177
Social Services 177

DEVELOPMENT POLICIES AND STRATEGIES 177

Economic Policy 177
The First Five-Year Plan (1964-1969) 177
The Arusha Declaration 177
The Second Five-Year Plan (1969-1974) 178
The Ujamaa Village Movement 178
Planned Villages Programme 178
The Third Five-Year Plan 178
Population Influencing Policies 178

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES AND DEVELOPMENT 179

Education for Self-Reliance 179
The Musoma Resolution 180
Educational Reform 180
Primary Education 180
Secondary Education 180
Post-Secondary Education 183
Adult Education 183
Population Education 183

CHAPTER II: PRESENTATION OF THE SOCIO-CULTURAL STUDY OF SELECTED REGIONS 185

OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY 185
Objectives 185
Methodology 185
Profile of the Respondents 186
1) Parents: Age, Marital Status and Family Size 186
2) Education and Occupation of Parents' Groups 186
3) Parents' Change of Residence 186
4) Adolescents: Age, Education and Employment Situation 186
5) Teachers: Age, Training and Experience 187
6) Marital and Family Situation of Teachers' Group 187

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FOUR REGIONS 187
Kilimanjaro 187
Sukumaland 188
Barbaig 188
Zanzibar 189

RELATION OF KINSHIP AND PRODUCTIVE SYSTEMS 189
The Kinship System 189
1) Inheritance 190
2) Productive system 190
3) Responsibilities 191

SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATION 191
Political Units 191
Judicial Functions 191
New Administrative Machinery 191

CHAPTER III: THE SOCIALIZATION PROCESS AND POPULATION-RELATED NORMS AND VALUES 193

INTRODUCTION 193

THE TRADITIONAL PROCESS OF SOCIALIZATION 193
Socialization for the Attainment of Self-dependence 193
Education of the Child in the Family Matrices and Dynamics 193
Socialization in Productive Activities 194
Socialization in Social Norms and Values 194
1) Youth groups 194
2) Initiation systems 194
3) Family and fertility 195
4) Sterility 196
5) Marriage 196
6) Maternity and sexuality 196
7) Family planning 197

SCHOOL AND ITS IMPACT ON SOCIALIZATION CONCEPTS 198
Socialization and the Aims of the School 198
Development of School Education 198
The Schools' Role in Secondary Socialization 198
1) Child-parent relationships 198
2) Boy-girl relationships 199
3) Work and employment 200
4) Impact on population concepts 201

CHAPTER IV: EDUCATIONAL PLANNING AND TRAINING FOR POPULATION EDUCATION 202

IMPLICATIONS FOR POPULATION EDUCATION 202

CIRCUMVENTING CONSTRAINTS 202
Changing Attitudes 202
Accepting Educational Change 203
Understanding Population Education 203

CAPITALIZING ON OPPORTUNITIES 203
The Climate for Change 203
The Growth of Awareness 204
Supporting Traditions 204

SUPPORT FROM EXISTING PROGRAMMES AND INSTITUTIONS 204
The Primary School 204
Secondary Schools 205
Adult Education 205
Training Institutions and Programmes 205
Forums for Educational Reform 206

STRATEGIES FOR PROMOTING POPULATION EDUCATION IN TANZANIA

Defining Population Education 206
Leadership Training 207
Integrating Population Content 207
New Approaches to Learning and Teaching 208
Production of Learning "Units" 208

CHAPTER V: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS 209

SUMMARY 209

CONCLUSIONS 209

TABLE OF FIGURES

Pages

Table 1: Number of live births per woman by age group, socio-economic (A, B, C,) groups and residence 176

Table 2: Mortality estimates for socio-economic groups Mainland 176

Chart 1: United Republic of Tanzania: Structure of Education, 1978 181

Chart 2: Tanzania Educational Pyramid Comparative Data for Public Schools 1961, 1971, 1979 182

Table 3: Respondents Participating in the Interviews 186

FOREWORD

The present study was carried out in 1979 by the Department of Education of the University of Dar-es-Salaam under the joint direction of Dr. Issa Omari, Head, and Dr. S.A. Sumra, Senior Lecturer.

The original text, representing a rich and comprehensive compilation of data from research sources and field enquiries has been synthesized and made ready for publication, as part of the present volume, by the Population Education Section of Unesco in Paris.

The comprehensive study should prove of special value to those who engage in the further development of Population Education in Tanzania inasmuch as the suggestions which it offers are closely related to the realities of socio-economic and cultural life revealed by the in-depth studies carried out in the four main regions of the country.

The principal authors express their gratitude to Dr. P. Maro of the Geography Department of the University of Dar-es-Salaam who was responsible for the research in the Barbaig area and for writing the section on the Barbaigs. Thanks are also due to the following persons who did the interviewing and transcribed the interview materials: R.M. Shitamanwa, J.M. Senya, E.R. Lyamuya, I.B. Marealie, J. DaCosta, S.M. Said, E. Shilla and E.B. Ghawoga. Finally, special thanks are extended to Dr. Yves Charbit, consultant of the Population Education Section, and to Mrs. Josyane Blanchard, Unesco, for their contributions to the planning and design of the study.

INTRODUCTION

Since independence was achieved in 1961 and particularly after the adoption of the Arusha Declaration in 1967, the Government of Tanzania has embarked on a programme for socio-economic transformation aimed at establishing a self-reliant socialist society based on popular participation. This has brought about changes in the traditional life-styles of the people, creating a situation in which old and new ways of life coexist, sometimes in opposition or a state of conflict. Associated with the tensions of transition have been changes in the demographic situation which in turn may have effect on the course and speed of development.

Population phenomena, manifest by increase or decline in the numbers of people, and in their movements and distribution, reflect the behaviour of each individual as they are in turn affected by government policies. Thus in Tanzania, as elsewhere, they are closely linked with the forms of education, both traditional and "modern".

This monograph presents the findings of a socio-cultural case study of selected groups and on this basis examines the effect of the changing context on the demographic situation with a view to identifying the role of population education in Tanzania. It discusses how population education can strengthen education, first by helping promote among people a greater awareness of the linkages between population and development and then by fostering those attitudes and decision-making skills in relation to population events which will secure the attainment of desired development goals in Tanzania.

After an initial outline of the socio-economic, demographic, political and cultural framework of Tanzania, the paper presents the methodology used in the socio-cultural study and describes the socio-political and economic characteristics of the four societies selected for the study. There follows in Chapter III an analysis of the traditional socialization process prevalent in these societies through which norms and values, particularly those related to family and life-cycle events, are transmitted to Tanzanian children. It discusses how schooling influences this process towards the development among young people of attitudes which are presumably perceived to be in conflict with the traditional norms and values which have previously determined population factors. Chapter IV examines the contribution of the educational process as a response to development and population problems, and formulates proposals for introducing population education programmes into the system.

In doing so it highlights how population education, by introducing vital new knowledge and fostering problem-solving skills, can add to the relevancy of the curriculum content and effective teaching-learning strategies. The main emphasis throughout is on preparing Tanzanian citizens to understand population and related development needs and to participate actively in national efforts to meet them.

CHAPTER I

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC, DEMOGRAPHIC, POLITICAL AND CULTURAL FRAMEWORK OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Oldowan culture, which later developed into the middle and later stone-age cultures based on micro-lithic tools and pottery, once flourished on the shores of Lake Victoria in Tanganyika. Earlier remains, dating from around 200 A.D., indicate that the Iron Age complex also covered the Bantu Speakers of East Africa including Tanganyika, the mainland of present-day Tanzania. Burial cairns, ranging in date from neolithic times to the present, are also found in these areas. Most of the known history of Tanganyika, before the 19th century, relates to the coastal area. Trading contacts between Arabia and the East African coast existed by the first century A.D., resulting in Arab settlements on the coast. The Portuguese arrived much later towards the end of the 15th century, and then the Germans and the British.

Slave trade and the search for ivory attracted Arab and Asian traders into the hinterland. Thus by 1840 there were trade centres in Tabora and Ujiji. Further extension of trade routes to the west was blocked in the 1860's and 1870's by an African Chief by the name of Mirambo. This period saw the arrival of several members of the Church Missionary Society for geographical exploration, notably David Livingstone who set out on his last journey for Lake Nyasa in 1866. A number of European missionary societies became interested in this region after 1860. In 1884, a representative of the German government, Karl Peters, arrived on the mainland and managed to take control of some territory from the local chiefs. Following an Anglo-German agreement in 1886 with the Sultan of Zanzibar, the hinterland of Tanganyika was divided between the Germans and the British and in 1888 the Germans obtained a lease of the coastal strip from the Sultan. Subsequently, having bought rights over the coastal area from the Sultan, the German government declared a protectorate covering the sphere of influence of the German East African Company in 1891. The German agronomist, Richard Hindroff, introduced sisal in Tanganyika from Florida in 1892. It later became a valuable crop in the territory as to encourage the construction of the railway from the capital, Dar-es-Salaam, to Lake Tanganyika. Similarly, the coffee growing areas of the slopes of mount Kilimanjaro led to the construction of a railway line from Tanga to Moshi during 1896 to 1912. Wild rubber tapped by the local inhabitants together with plantation grown rubber, boosted the economy, and with incentives from the government, cotton also became a cash crop at this time.

Resentment of colonial rule started early in the 20th century. The Maji rising in 1905 continuing till 1907, led the Germans to reassess their policy in East Africa. However, after the First World War, the British Government received a League of Nations mandate to administer Tanganyika.

In 1947, after World War II, Tanganyika was placed under UN Trusteeship but still under British administration. The nationalist movement which started with the establishment in the early 50's of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) (later on the CCM (Chamacha Mapinduzi)), led to the attainment of independence in December 1961, with Julius Nyerere as the first Prime Minister of Tanganyika. The November 1962 elections for the country's first President under a Republican constitution resulted in an overwhelming majority for Julius Nyerere. On 9 December 1962, Tanganyika became a republic within the Commonwealth (1).

On 10th December 1963, Zanzibar, consisting of the large islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, 32 kilometres of the east coast of Tanganyika, achieved independence. In April 1964, a Treaty of Unity was signed, bringing together Tanganyika and the two islands of Zanzibar and Pemba to constitute the United Republic of Tanzania.

GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

The United Republic of Tanzania extends over an area of some 945,000 km^2 just south of the equator on the east coast of Africa between the great lakes – Lake Victoria, Lake Tanganyika and Lake Nyasa – and the Indian Ocean. The country, much of which is above 900m altitude, in some parts rising above 1,500m, varies considerably in ecological conditions. Among the ecological units of importance for human settlement are the mountain lands, including the snow capped volcanic zones of mount Kilimanjaro, Meru and Rungwe, and the faulted blocks of north Pare, Usambara and Uluguru. Other areas of more varied relief include the Ngara, west Kibondo and Kasulu located in the north-west of the country. The second important ecological unit covers the lake shore zones in which there is a distinct population concentration.

A third ecological region covers the entire coastal stretch

---

(1) Adapted from Sanyal, Bikas C. and Kinunda, M.J. *Higher Education for Self-Reliance: the Tanzanian Experience*, Unesco-IIEP, Paris, 1977, pp. 35-36.

167

of the mainland and includes the major ports of the country – Tanga, Dar-es-Salaam (the capital), Lindi and Mtwara. The central plateau, a region of low rainfall, runs between the southern highlands north-eastwards towards the Kenyan border. Bordering this area to the east is a varied plateau region including Tringa, the plains of Dodoma and the Mbulu and the Singida uplands. These form a bridge of more favourable ecological conditions between the southern highlands and the coastal zone to the north-east (1). The western parts of Zanzibar and Pemba islands are most fertile but their eastern zones, largely composed of bare coral rocks, are sparsely covered with vegetation.

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

1) Size and growth rate

These varied ecological conditions underlie the diversity and complexity of the population situation and related problems of development in Tanzania. The population of Tanzania, given in the 1978 census, is estimated to be around 17.5 million, is unevenly distributed, with heavy concentrations around the periphery of the territory, mainly in the north-eastern and the Rift Valley highlands, in the southern highlands around Iringa, on the Lake Victoria plains and intermittently along the east coast of the mainland and the eastern parts of Zanzibar. The population increase from about 12.3 million in 1967 has been greatest in these more favoured localities. Among the outcomes has been a more intensified and often devastating use of land and migration in search of fertile lands for cultivation or wage employment in urban centres.

Contrasts in ecological conditions and population distribution are paralleled by differences in the people themselves. Tanzania, like other countries of East Africa, has been a meeting point for the continent's major *ethnic groups*. Numerous linguistic groups such as Bantu, Nilotic, the Nilo-Hamitic, Khoisan and Custitic are represented in Tanzania. Of these, the Bantu is by far the largest. At the time of the 1967 census, of the population of mainland Tanzania, a total of 130 tribes and ethnic groups were identified, each speaking its own language and occupying a small area separated from but overlapping linguistically its neighbours. Only one of these ethnic groups, the Sukuma, exceeded 1.5 million members, while others numbered between 10,000 to 500,000 members. It is of interest that while much of Zanzibar's African population came from the mainland, one group known as Shirazis, traces its origins to settlers from Persia. The use of *Kiswahili* as the language of instruction in schools has helped to reduce tribalism and to improve communication among these diverse groups.

The non-African population was estimated in 1967 at about 75,000 Asians, 30,000 Arabs and 17,000 Europeans resident in mainland Tanzania, with nearly 15 per cent of the total population in Zanzibar of non-African stock, including some 57,000 Arabs.

According to the 1967 census, the *population growth rate* was 2.7 per cent per annum, the crude birth rate 43.7 per thousand and the crude death rate about 15 per thousand (2).

2) Fertility and Mortality

A national demographic survey (3) carried out in 1973, using 1967 data, showed regional differences in fertility, morbidity and mortality rates. Of 18 mainland regions, 5 had a crude birth rate of over 50 per thousand, while for 3 the rate was less than 40 per thousand. Similarly, 5 regions had a crude death rate between 26 and 31 thousand contrasting with having a six others crude death rate of less than 20 per thousand.

The level of education and socio-economic status is correlated with fertility and mortality rates. Analysis of 1967 census data indicated that "the fertility of women who had 5.8 years education was about 87 per cent of the fertility of those who had no schooling. Those who had 9 years of schooling had only 43 per cent of the fertility of women who had no schooling" (4). Fertility and mortality differentials were also associated with various socio-economic groupings and urban-rural categories. As car be seen from the Tables 1 and 2 below, the highest fertility rates ae found among rural women in the lowest income categories : while mortality rates fall and life expectancy increases as socio-economic status rises.

"According to the Third Five-Year Development Plan, *average life expectancy at birth* rose from 40-41 years in 1967 to 45 years in 1974. Infant mortality is estimated at around 152 per thousand and a further 90 per thousand children are estimated to die before the age of five. As in other developing countries, the major causes of the high levels of morbidity and mortality in Tanzania are infections and parasitic diseases " and poor nutrition (5).

3) Marriage Customs

Marriage customs relating to the age of first marriage, polygamy, divorce and remarriage are seen to be important determinants of fertility, particularly in rural areas. The legal minimum age of marriage in Tanzania is 18 for males and 15 for females. According to a recent study (6). 56 per cent of women in the age group 15-19 are single compared with 14 per cent in the age group 20-34. The incidence of polygamy is high in Tanzania ; one out of every three women in the age group 40-49 is married to a polygamous husband. Adherence to these customs is influenced by the level of education, socio-economic status and religion (7).

---

(1) Adapted from Ominde, Simeon. *The Population of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania*, 1974 World Population Year ; CICRED Series, Nairobi, Kenya, 1975, p. 3.

(2) 1977 census data are not yet fully processed.

(3) Henin, Roushdi A. ed *The Demography of Tanzania : an Analysis of the 1973 National Demographic Survey of Tanzania*. Dar-Es-Salaam, 1974.

(4) Ominde, Simeon, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

(5) UNFPA, *Tanzania, Report of Mission on Needs Assessment for Population Assistance*, Report n° 11, May 1979, p. 9.

(6) Henin, R.A. "*Marriage*", in *The Demography of Tanzania, op. cit.*, pp. 39-69.

(7) UNFPA, *Tanzania, op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

TABLE 1. *NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS PER WOMAN BY AGE GROUP, SOCIO-ECONOMIC (A,B,C) GROUPS AND RESIDENCE (1)*

Age group	Socio-economic groups (2)					
	A		B		C	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
15–19	0.270	0.318	0.420	0.509	0.621	0.613
20–24	1.358	1.713	1.399	1.926	1.710	1.955
25–29	2.503	3.259	2.397	3.293	2.465	3.060
30–34	3.145	4.429	3.071	4.078	2.941	3.906
35–39	3.527	4.694	3.406	5.016	3.167	4.336
40–44	3.558	5.533	3.888	4.997	3.114	4.483
45–49	3.710	5.180	3.938	4.664	3.185	4.512

TABLE 2. *MORTALITY ESTIMATES FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS MAINLAND (1)*

Socio-economic group	Infant mortality per 1,000	Survival to age 5 per 1,000	Life expectancy at birth
Urban top-level white collar workers	62	904	61
Urban middle level white collar workers	82	868	56
Rural top-level white collar workers ; Urban blue collar workers	104	829	51
Rural middle level white collar workers ; Rural blue collar workers	115	808	48
Agricultural labourers :			
persons without occupation	140	762	43
Farmers	155	739	41

4) Dependency Ratio

Like most developing countries, Tanzania has a *young population*. According to United Nations demographic indicators, the percentage of population in the dependency age groups of 0-4 and 65 and over, was in 1975 about 49.1 per cent of the total which gives a relative dependency ratio of 96.5 per cent (3).

5) Population Distribution

It has been noted that the population is concentrated in a few arable zones separated by extensive tracts which have attracted little settlement. Thus, over 60 per cent of the total population occupies less than 20 per cent of the total area. While the average overall density in 1975 was estimated at 16 persons per square kilometre, the regional differential in population density varies from 10.5 inhabitants per square kilometre in the infertile central region of the country to 127.1 per km^2 in the Kilimanjaro region.The population increase has occurred mainly in the already densely populated areas although in recent years the government's villagisation policy has encouraged gradual expansion of settlements in neighbouring sparsely populated areas.

Tanzania is one of the least urbanized countries of Africa. Approximately less than one million people (6.2 per cent of the population) live in urban centres, Dar-Es-Salaam, the capital (500,000 people), Zanzibar Town (80,000), Tanga (60,000) and Mwanza (35,000) are the most important.

6) Migration

Migration from rural milieux to urban centres, although much discouraged by the government, is also in the increase. Opportunity for wage employment in the towns and disparities in rural and urban real incomes, act as incentive for this internal migration. Another factor is the increasing trend among primary-school graduates to migrate to the towns to compete for urban formal-sector jobs. According to a recent study these factors increased the estimated annual flow of rural-urban migrants by 70 per cent between 1969 and 1975 (4).

(1) Egero, B. and Henin, R.A. *The Population of Tanzania*, 1967, p. 199. reproduced in Ominde, Simeon, *op. cit.*

(2) Group A : professional, technical, administrative and executive
Group B : "white collar"
Group C : "blue collar"

(3) UNFPA, *Tanzania, op. cit.*, p. 9.

(4) UNFPA, *Tanzania, op. cit.*, p. 9.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

The Primary Sector

Economic activity in the 200 agro-economic zones found in Tanzania, follows the population pattern and reflects differences in geographical location, soil fertility and climate.

Agriculture holds first place in the Tanzanian economy, providing the source of livelihood for the vast majority of the population. Livestock, forestry and fishing are other important activities of the primary sector. Agriculture and livestock represent almost 40 per cent of Gross Domestic Product, and agricultural products account for over 80 per cent of Tanzania's export earnings. Food crops, in addition to the chief staple food maize, are cassava, banana, sorghum, millet, wheat, and rice. The chief cash and export crops produced include coffe, cotton, cashews, sisal and tobacco ; and cloves from the Zanzibar islands.

Agriculture takes the form of *subsistence farming* undertaken by small peasant farmers living in widely scattered farmsteads who cultivate almost 90 % of the area under crops. The agriculture census of 1972 reported a total of approximately 2.5 million farms of which 83 per cent were below 2 ha. in size.

The traditional "bush-fallow" system of cultivation on a communal tenure system has gradually given place to permanent, more intensive cultivation particularly in the fertile areas where population density has been increasing. Cultivation techniques, however, are generally based on manual labour with a simple hand hoe. The use of oxen-power is confined to the tsetse-free central, west and south areas. Attempts to introduce tractors have met with little success. Consequently, most of the rural population has remained at *a low level of technology and income*, except where more valuable cash crops have been introduced and developed.

Since independence, development plans have focussed on assisting farmers through a programme of resettlement in *planned villages* or *"Ujamaa"* which are described later.

The Secondary Sector

At the time of independence, the Republic had only a rudimentary industrial structure and the Secondary Sector is for the most part little developed. Fishing is a growing industry, particularly in Zanzibar. On mainland Tanzania mineral developments include diamonds, gold, salt, tin and phosphate. Large deposits of coal and iron are found in the south but have not been exploited. Large scale manufacturing was at independence confined to cotton ginning and to a number of small establishments, mostly owned by Asians, producing clothing, bread, bricks, footwear and the like, employing some 20,000 persons and representing less than 5 per cent of GDP. Although recent years have seen a steady growth in manufacturing industry it still accounts only for 10 to 12 per cent of GDP. Manufactures are largely limited to basic consumer and import substitution goods.

Transport and Communications

The road network which services mainly the coastal, central and north-central parts of the country awaits extension and improvement. The Tanzania section of the now dismantled East African Railways Corporation covers some 2,580 kilometres of railway, linking Dar-es-Salaam with Arusha, Tanga and Mwanza. Recent years have seen considerable development in this area particularly in the construction of the Tan-Zam railroad between Dar-es-Salaam and Zambia. The principal ports are at Dar-es-Salaam, Tanga and Lindi. Tanzania has two main international airports, Dar-es-Salaam and Kilimanjaro and some 50 small airports and airstrips.

Social services

At independence, social services were very little developed. The educational system was considered inappropriate to the needs of development. The school population was small and there was an acute shortage of trained indigenous manpower, nearly 70 per cent of civil service posts being occupied by expatriates. It will be shown later that there has been significant progress in the social service sector which was accorded priority in later development plans.

DEVELOPMENT POLICIES AND STRATEGIES

Economic Policy

In the early years after independence, in 1961, Tanzanian economic policy was focussed on the development of agriculture and the livestock industry, on improvement of communications and on the development of education, particularly in the primary and adult sectors. The aim of the interim plan (1961/62 – 1963/64) was to expand the base of the economy by effecting a rapid transition from a subsistence to a monetary economy, by increasing production, raising the incomes of people, improving the infrastructure and providing training and education facilities.

The First Five-Year Plan (1964 – 1969)

This plan was subsequently integrated and followed by the First Five-Year Plan (1964-1969) which aimed at rapid growth in *per capita* income and an increase in GDP by 6.7 per cent per annum within a mixed economy framework ; and a national sufficiency in high and middle-level manpower.

The Arusha Declaration

A mid-term reassessment of development objectives and strategies led to the adoption in 1967 of a new socialist orientation in economic and social planning presented by President Nyerere, and contained in the famous document – the Arusha Declaration.

The new priorities of social and economic policy outlined in the Arusha Declaration and related policy statements included four basic goals : *socialism* through effective control over the major means of production, absence of exploitation, more egalitarian income distribution and more participatory decision-making ; *broad-based rural development* : and *self-reliance* in local and national development efforts ; *education* was to benefit the masses instead of the few ; and the *economic growth* was considered necessary for attainment of all these goals. It was repeatedly stressed that econmic growth should be accompanied by rural development and socio-economic transformation of rural areas.

The Second Five-Year Plan (1969-1974)

The next development plan insisted that rural development be seen as the key both to the achievement of the production targets in the plan and the social goal of spreading development to the mass of the people (1).

Institutional changes were considered essential if these aims were to be achieved. Under the guidance of the national party a series of major institutional changes were introduced over the years. These included the nationalization of large-scale industry, commerce and finance in the late 60's, and the creation of various para-Statal bodies ; the intensification of the movement of Ujamaa village formation, culminating in the more recent mass campaign of village resettlement and the decentralization of government administration in 1972, all intended to promote socialist development of the rural areas where most Tanzanian people live.

The Ujamaa Village Movement

The Ujamaa Village Movement, replacing an earlier village settlement scheme, was initially conceived as a vehicle for socialist rural transformation and emphasized collective cultivation on the basis of self-help and self-reliance. It aimed at discouraging the growth of a rural elite by ensuring equality in income distribution ; and at providing a framework for meaningful participation of the rural population in preparing and executing development plans.

By the end of 1973, however, the Ujamaa village movement appeared to have reached a plateau. The pace of village formation had slowed and collective cultivation was minimal. An assessment of the scheme seemed to suggest that there was resistance to communal farming which operated as a barrier to the spread of Ujamaa villages. The government which therefore decided to reduce the emphasis on "collective cultivation" and to stress instead state farms and "block farming" in which each farmer would cultivate his own plot within an overall block of land allocated to the village.

Planned Villages Programme

Thus in 1974 there was a shift from Ujamaa villages to forming "planned" or "developpment" villages on a massive scale. This massive "villagisation" programme appeared to have brought by 1975 an estimated 13 million people (90 per cent of the total rural population) into more than 7,600 villages. Although there are still some areas in the country in which no actual village resettlement has taken place, for the great majority of the rural population, it has become a reality.

The 1972 decentralization policy aimed at promoting *participatory socialism*, emphasized "planning from" below through a series of development planning committees, established from the village level up through the wards, districts and regions. The planning and execution of development plans at the village level have been strengthened through the provision of trained extension agents – village management technicians (VMTs) – to provide technical assistance in promoting small-scale industries and other income-generating projects ; and village managers (VMs) to assist the Village Council to upgrade planning skills within the village leadership.

These policies and institutional changes have brought far-reaching changes in the traditional life-styles of the people, creating the need for adaptation to a new mode of life with significant impact on population dynamics.

Despite the priority being given to institutional changes, the Tanzanian achievement in terms of economic growth has been significant. Although less than anticipated, Tanzania maintained a record of economic growth between 1969 and 1974, with GDP growing at about 5 per cent per annum on average, which was reasonable although it was less than the 6.7 per cent envisaged in the First Plan (1964-69). The Second Development Plan period of 1969-74 also fell short of its target of increasing national income at the rate of 6.7 per cent per annum ; instead, it increased only at the rate of 4.8 per cent per annum. In the agricultural sector, the real added value increased at an average rate of only 2.7 per cent per annum between 1967 and 1973 and in the latter year suffered a drought-induced decline.

Given that the rate of population growth has been estimated at 2.7 per cent per annum (equivalent to growth in the agricultural sector), the real rise in income for the rural population has been negligible. *Per capita* income increased only slightly and without any significant narrowing of rural-urban income disparities.

The Third Five-Year Plan (1976-81)

Although the economy has since shown signs of gradual recovery, the overall situation has still to be improved. The Third Five Year Plan (1976-81), while still based on the Arusha Declaration puts emphasis on raising *per capita income* through increased production. It gives priority to the development of productive sectors in agriculture, industry and planned utilization of natural resources, and seeks the improvement of health, educational and housing facilities, including the attainment of self-sufficiency in middle and high-level technical manpower.

Population Influencing Policies

The Government of Tanzania regards the current rate of population growth, estimated to be between 2.7 and 3.0 per cent per annum as having both a beneficial and at the same time a constraining effect on national development. While not having an explicit population policy as such, the government is concerned with population-related issues and is well aware of the demographic consequences of some of its development programmes. If demographic variables have been taken into consideration in the planning exercise only partially, population influencing policies are to be found in the five-year national development plans.

---

(1) *Tanzania Second-Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development*. Vol. 1, 1969, p. 4.

For instance, the Ujamaa and the later "villagisation" movement, involving the relocation of millions of families from scattered homesteads in villages, has not only created adaptation problems for the people but has had far-reaching implications for the distribution structure of the population and has incidentally embraced some population education activities.

Similarly, the government's *health policies* and programmes have a bearing on population dynamics. They aim to provide by 1980 a comprehensive and integrated system of health care for at least 90 per cent of the population. Programme components, include provision for ante-natal care for pregnant women, post-natal mother and child care ; early detection and correction of malnutrition ; for immunization of children against infectious diseases as well as for the detection and treatment of minor ailments and diseases. Other activities with an educational component include *health education* focussing on personal and environmental sanitation, care of the newborn and responsible parenthood.

In addition, while the government does not have an explicit family planning policy, it indirectly supports programmes discouraging large families. Family planning is one of the several essential components of a comprehensive and integrated Maternal and Child Health (MCH) service which operates from all government health establishments. UMATI, the Family Planning Association of Tanzania, cooperates with the Ministry of Health by making available contraceptive supplies and by training medical and paramedical pesonnel within the MCH programme in some aspects of family planning.

In 1978, provision was made that "for a person with children there will also be a refund of tax calculated at the rate of Tanzanian shillings 10 per child per month up to a maximum of four children" (1). Implicit is an official indication of what is seen as optimal family size.

Government awareness of population factors is also expressed in its concern for increasing average life expectancy, especially through care at birth and in early childhood. Results of the population census of 1967 referred to in the Third Plan (1976-81), have shown that life expectancy at birth had increased from 35-40 years in 1964 to 40-41 years in 1967. The Plan also refers to a previous target of the First Plan (1964-69) to raise this figure to 50 years by 1979. The Tanzanian health policy focussing on MCH programme is geared towards reducing infant, childhood and maternal mortality rates. The long-term effect that is normally expected from cutting down the infant mortality – a lowering of the fertility rate – should hold good for Tanzania. Fewer infant deaths mean that fewer "replacement" births are needed to maintain fertility at the level parents in Tanzania consider desirable

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES AND DEVELOPMENT

Developments in education align with the evolution of the overall development strategy adopted by independent Tanzania. The interim plan (1961-1964) and the First Five-Year Development Plan (1964-1969) which aimed at rapid economic growth within a mixed-economy framework gave priority to the expansion of secondary and higher education to meet manpower requirements for development. The fifteen-year perspective plan (1964-1980) also formulated during this period, emphasized the attainment of self-sufficiency in skilled manpower by 1980 and called for a comprehensive educational system for children and adults as soon as financially possible.In the period 1961 to 1967, while the expansion of primary education was slow – with an annual enrolment growth rate of 9 per cent – secondary education grew rapidly, with the Form IV output increasing four times and that of Form VI increasing by more than 400 per cent. Secondary school enrolment during this period more than doubled and that of the Universtiy of East Africa increased almost tenfold.

Education for Self-Reliance

Following adoption of the Arusha Declaration in 1967, President Nyerere sharply criticized elitism in education and lack of practical training especially in rural education. The President formulated the guidelines for reform in the *Education for Self-Reliance* document in which emphasis was to be the cultivation of socialist values and self-reliance as the major educational goal. Thus, "The education provided by Tanzania for the students of Tanzania must serve the purpose of Tanzania. It must encourage the growth of Socialist values we aspire to. It must encourage the development of a proud, independent and free citizency which relies upon itself for its own development and which knows the advantages and the problems of cooperation. It must ensure that the educated know themselves to be an integral part of the nation and recognize the responsibility to give greater service the greater the opportunities they have had" (1).

Education for self-reliance implied shifting priority to primary and adult education and radical reform. It called for such changes as :

- "the provision of basic education for the masses rather than for the elite ;
- a curriculum at all levels which reflects the environment with which the students are familiar and which provides them with the practical skills, knowledge and values which are most meaningful to them and to the community ;
- making schools both economic and educational units by involving the schools in work and production so

---

(1) The United Republic of Tanzania. *Speech by the Minister for Finance and Planning Introducing the Estimates of Public Revenue and Expenditure for 1978]79 and the Development Plan 1978]79*, Dar-es-Salaam : Government Printer, 1978, p. 42.

(2) Nyerere, Julius K. *Education for Self-Reliance*, Dar-es-Salaam, Government Printer, 1967, p. 25.

that they can contribute to self-sufficiency and become integrated with the community and in this way integrating education with manual labour and with production ;

- establishing assessment procedures which take into account, work, experience and commitment, continuous assessment and final examination" (1).

Each eductional stage at primary and secondary levels was to be planned as terminal, a complete preparation in itself for the pupils' likely future.

The Musoma Resolution

Seven years later, in 1974, the TANU Party Executive Committee meeting in Musoma assessed the achievements in the implementation of the policy of Education for self-reliance and offered a number of guidelines for future development in what has come to be known as *Musoma Resolution*. Most relevant of these were :

- "the call for universal primary education by 1977 instead of 1989 as envisaged earlier ; raise the school entry age to 7 years so as to facilitate the child's integration into the life of the Community after completing school ; curriculum to foster values such as cooperation and self-reliance and to provide useful basic skills and knowledge to the pupils ; emphazise work and production in the educational process so as to provide the needed transition from school to work and to encourage schools to contribute towards their own upkeep ; changes in the assessment and selection procedures by incorporating work performance, attitudes and commitment as well as academic achievements ;
- the establishment of post-primary craft centres designed to offer a two-year programme in special skills as a response to the type of skill requirements demanded by the increasing number of newly regrouped Ujammaa or "planned" villages ;
- the expansion of secondary and higher education to be limited to meet the manpower requirements necessary for achieving self-sufficiency at all skill levels by 1980 ;
- the diversification of secondary education through the incorporation of practical-oriented programmes such as technical education, agricultural and commercial education, home economics in the academic curriculum of the schools ;
- changes in the selection and admission procedures to higher education whereby admission is given to applicants on the basis of working experience of at least two years, with strong recommendation by the employer and Party branch regarding their suitability" (2).

Educational Reform

The Third Five-Year Plan (1976-1981) retained the course charted by the *Education for Self-Reliance* and the Musoma Resolution as the direction for educational development during this planning period.

The structure of the reformed education system as presented in Chart 1 consists of a 7-year primary education (Standards 1-7), a 4-year lower secondary education (Forms 1-4) followed by a two-year pre-university course (Forms 5-6), and tertiary education provided by the University of Dar-es-Salaam.

A wide range of formal and non formal specialized training programmes are also provided by several Ministries ; e.g., Post-Primary Technical Sections (2 years), Folk Development Colleges (3 to 9 months), Vocational Training Centres (1 year and apprenticeship), Technical Colleges (3 years), Commercial Colleges (2 years), and Accountancy-Management Institutes (1-2 years).

The implementation of these various directives has met with considerable success as can be seen from the achievements recorded at the different levels of education in Chart 2 : Tanzania educational pyramid.

Primary Education

Achievement has been most marked in the area of primary education. Total enrolments increased from about 902,000 in 1971 to 3,211,586 in 1979, representing 93 per cent of the population age group 7-14, including over-aged students. To meet the requirements of this increase, innovations in recruiting and training teachers such as distance teaching were tried out and self-reliance activities were encouraged for meeting physical school plant requirements.

The establishment of post-primary craft centres named Post-Primary Technical Sections (PPTS) was launched in 1975. These sections, intended to build two-year occupational skills, are expected to grow rapidly : by 1982 the planned enrolments are expected to be 10,000 in some 275 schools and about 17,000 in 340 schools by 1985.

Secondary Education

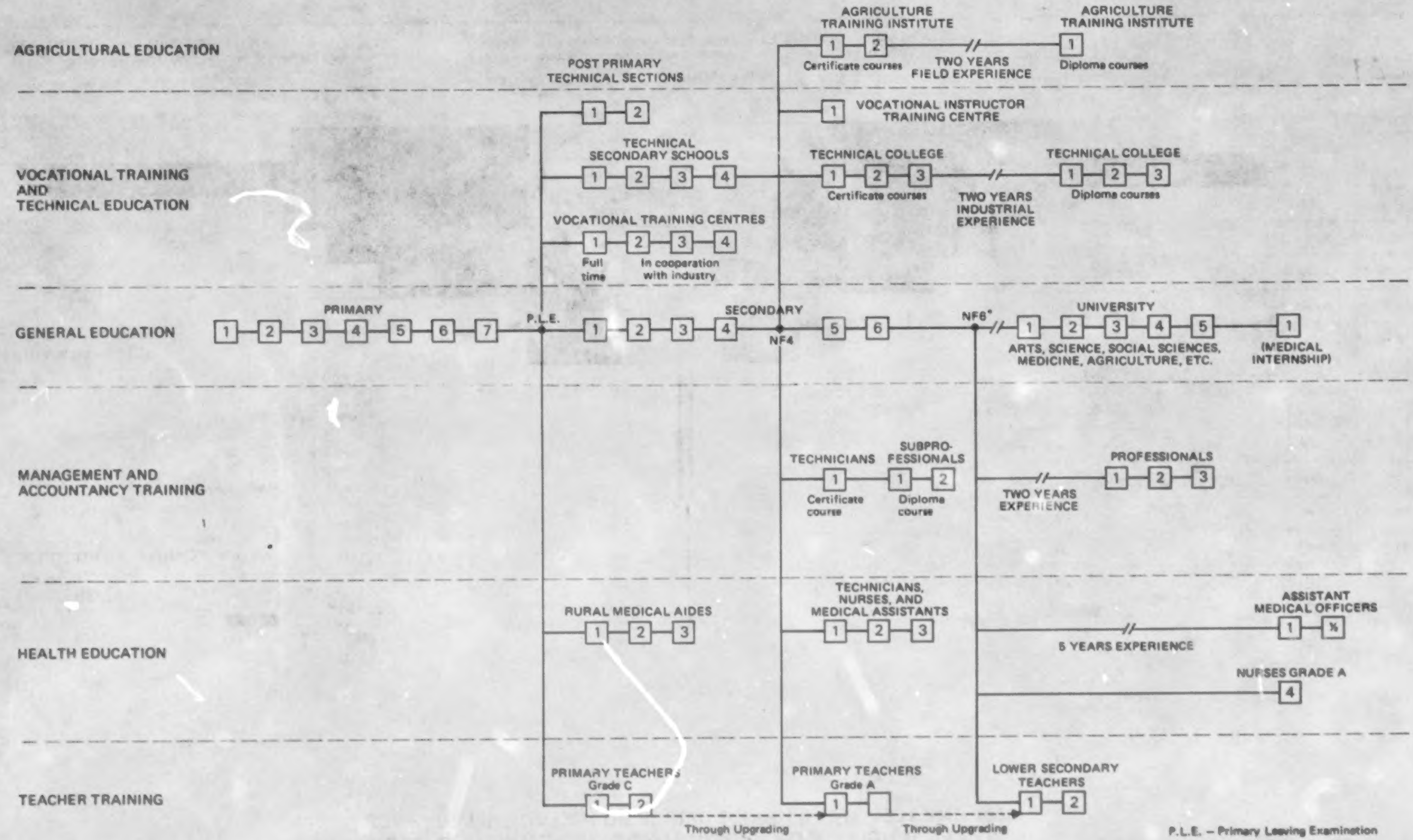
Enrolments at secondary level increased from 50,200 in 1974 (46,300 in Forms 1-4 and 3,900 in Forms 5-6) to about 68,300 in 1978 (64,400 in Forms 1-4 and 3,900 in Forms 5-6). The total enrolments at the lower level (Form 1-4) represent 4 per cent of the population age group 14-17 of mainland Tanzania. Slow expansion at this level is attributable to the government's policy to limit the growth of public secondary education Form I to the planned 30 per cent per year during the Second Five Year plan (1969-74). Since 1974, public school enrolments have expanded at an even slower rate : however, this has been off-set by the increase in private school Form I enrolments. The secondary school curriculum has been refined in keeping with the concepts of self-reliance and productive work.

---

(1) Kinunda, M.J. *The Tanzanian Primary School Reform – Expectations and Realities*, Paper prepared for the Inter-Agency Seminar on "Organization of Education at Local Level" organized by IIEP-Unesco, Nov. 1979.

(2) Adapted from Kinunda, M.J., *op. cit.*
See also The Musoma Resolution. *Papers in Education and Development*, University of Dar-es-Salaam, Vol. 19.

Chart 1: UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA: STRUCTURE OF EDUCATION, 1978

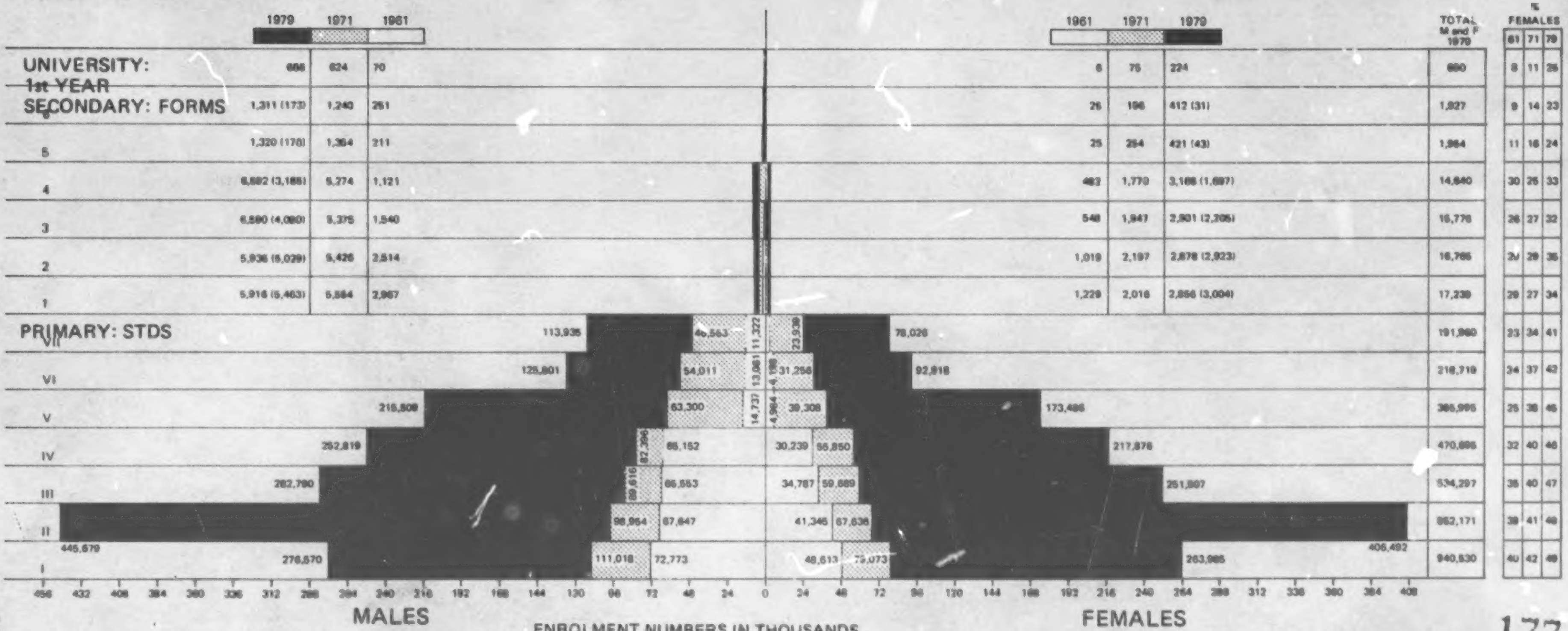

AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION
AGRICULTURE TRAINING INSTITUTE
1 2
Certificate courses
TWO YEARS FIELD EXPERIENCE
AGRICULTURE TRAINING INSTITUTE
1
Diploma courses
VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION
POST PRIMARY TECHNICAL SECTIONS
1 2
VOCATIONAL INSTRUCTOR TRAINING CENTRE
1
TECHNICAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS
1 2 3 4
TECHNICAL COLLEGE
1 2 3
Certificate courses
TWO YEARS INDUSTRIAL EXPERIENCE
TECHNICAL COLLEGE
1 2 3
Diploma courses
VOCATIONAL TRAINING CENTRES
1 2 3 4
Full time
In cooperation with industry
GENERAL EDUCATION
PRIMARY
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
P.L.E.
SECONDARY
1 2 3 4
NF4
5 6
NF6*
UNIVERSITY
1 2 3 4 5
ARTS, SCIENCE, SOCIAL SCIENCES, MEDICINE, AGRICULTURE, ETC.
1
(MEDICAL INTERNSHIP)
MANAGEMENT AND ACCOUNTANCY TRAINING
TECHNICIANS
1
Certificate course
SUBPRO-FESSIONALS
1 2
Diploma course
TWO YEARS EXPERIENCE
PROFESSIONALS
1 2 3
HEALTH EDUCATION
RURAL MEDICAL AIDES
1 2 3
TECHNICIANS, NURSES, AND MEDICAL ASSISTANTS
1 2 3
5 YEARS EXPERIENCE
ASSISTANT MEDICAL OFFICERS
1 ½
NURSES GRADE A
4
TEACHER TRAINING
PRIMARY TEACHERS Grade C
1 2
Through Upgrading
PRIMARY TEACHERS Grade A
1
Through Upgrading
LOWER SECONDARY TEACHERS
1 2

P.L.E. – Primary Leaving Examination
NF4 – National School Certificate
NF6 – National Higher School Certificate

* The Government announced in 1974 that Form 6 outputs would not obtain direct entry into University, but would enter employment for an unspecified period before being considered for undergraduate studies.

Source: World Bank, July 1978

Chart 2: UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA EDUCATIONAL PYRAMID COMPARATIVE DATA FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS 1961, 1971 AND 1979



ENROLMENT NUMBERS IN THOUSANDS

1979 Enrolments for Private Secondary Schools are shown in brackets. The total enrolments include Private Secondary Schools

Source: MINISTRY OF NATIONAL EDUCATION SECTORIAL PLANNING DEPARTMENT

Courses in agriculture, crafts, commerce, home economics have been added and steps taken to integrate classroom and community, and to convert the syllabi into "terminal" courses designed to prepare graduates more directly for their working careers.

Four secondary-technical schools with a total enrolment of 2,550 students provide a programme of 60 per cent practice and 40 per cent theory in elementary civil engineering, electrical engineering, and mechanical engineering. Six additional schools of this type are to be added during the Five-Year Plan period.

Vocational training at secondary level reaching some 4,500 students is undertaken by such institutes as the National Vocational Training Division of the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, the Tanganyika African Parents Association (WAZAZI) and the Mission Trade Schools.

Post-Secondary Education

Students completing Form IV can enrol in upper secondary school (Form 5-6) for two years and then proceed to university or enrol for specialized training provided in post – Form 4 colleges and institutes. In 1976, of some 12,500 Form 4 leavers, nearly 2,000 entered Form 5 while approximately 6,500 engaged in other training. By 1976 there were some 120 colleges and institutes in Tanzania operated or supported by Government and with a capacity of about 24,000 students.

Training in middle and lower level management, accountancy and commercial studies is provided in a number of institutions which cater for the specialized staffing needs of Ministries, Ujamaa villages and co-operative societies.

The University of Dar-es-Salaam, established in 1970, includes Faculties of Arts, Commerce, Law, Medicine, Engineering and Science in Dar-es-Salaam ; and a Faculty of Agriculture at Morogoro some 120 miles away. The University also operates a Department of Education for the pre-service training of graduate secondary school teachers. The Institute of Education, which is under the Ministry of National Education, conducts in-service courses and develops curricula. In 1976-1977, enrolments in degree and diploma corses totalled 2,200. In the same year, about 1,000 other students were studying outside Tanzania, either in degree or diploma courses at Makerere and Nairobi or post-secondary courses overseas.

Adult Education

Adult education is another area in which considerable progress has been achieved. The adult education programme was launched by President Nyerere in 1969 in his end-of-the-year speech and again in 1970 when he declared 1970 Adult Education Year. It is seen as an instrument of socialist change and development and as means to the meaningful involvement of adults in the development effort.

Eradication of illiteracy by 1975 was fixed as a target and adult education to this end was given national priority by doubling Government funds allocated for it. A Directorate of Adult Education was established in the Ministry of Education. Regional, district, village and classroom Adult Education Committees, comprising people from all walks of life, were set up. The programme was operated on a Self-reliance basis. Instruction was given by regular teachers, by selected primary and secondary pupils, and by a large army of voluntary teachers in whatever locale, such as court-rooms, party offices, cooperative buildings and primary school classrooms, were available after normal working hours. Adults came to their local primary school not only to become literate but also to use the school farm and carpentry workshop and other facilities to learn relevant skills.

As the programme was implemented, the flow of instructional materials increased and more adult education teachers were trained. By 1978, about 98,000 teachers had been trained. Adults attending literacy classes had increased in such large numbers that an estimated 4 million took the annual literacy test in that year. As a measure of the success of the literacy campaign, the illiteracy rate which stood at 80 per cent in 1970 had come down to 39 per cent by 1978. In addition to teaching literacy and some basic relevant skills, adult education has also attempted to create awareness of certain practical issues relevant to development through a series of mass campaigns. Among the best known have been : *Wakati wa Furaha*, which focussed on the importance of political involvement and planning ; *Mtu ni Afya*, which dealt with basic forms of preventive medicine and health education ; and *Chacula ni Uhai*, which emphasized the critical importance of food production.

A second phase of the programme intended for neo-literates and aimed at literacy retention has comprised these elements : the publication of a new book for advanced classes and a range of course texts on specialized subjects ; the extension of the national library service to rural areas ; and the expanssion of the rural press to cater for different parts of the country.

As a further development, 47 Folk Development Colleges were established to provide short-term training in specialized skills in such areas as agriculture, construction, mechanics, accountancy for new literates selected by their village. It is planned to establish one such college in each district.

Population Education

It is clear that the Governement of the United Republic of Tanzania has embarked on wide-ranging and intensive development programmes which have many implications for population dynamics. There is therefore need to examine more closely the reciprocal impact of demographic factors and development policies and trends and to take such findings into consideration in planning at both community and national levels. This assumes special importance in the Tanzanian context where the development strategy aims at promoting socialism by enabling informed citizens to participate in development planning and decision-making at the village, district, regional and national levels. To be effective in this role, people need to appreciate fully how population dynamics, socio-economic and cultural.

development and the quality of individual and collective life are inter-related, and to be able to use this knowledge.

Indeed, Tanzania's development plans and prospects point up the relevance of population education which proposes to help learners whether they are schoolchildren or the adult public, to define and understand the nature, causes and consequences of demographic phenomena and their inter-relationships with the realities of socio-economic and cultural development.

Attempts made so far in Tanzania to introduce population education concepts have been limited in application. Population education as a subject area is not included either in the formal or the non-formal sector of the educational system. But population concepts are included in geography studies and matters of interpersonal relationships and responsible parenthood are included in the domestic science curricula. Similarly, instruction on certain aspects of maternal and child health care, family planning and responsible parenthood is offered through the health services. However, the introduction of population education broadly conceived and planned to meet the felt needs and real problems of the people appears as a condition for the success of development programmes.

Education in Tanzania has been given high priority in the development strategy. Seen as playing a contributing role in socio-economic transformation, it is to be directed not only to the school-age population but to the whole adult population. Encompassing a wide variety of activities designed for the community at large, the educational system, both formal and informal, opens up opportunities to develop population insights and skills in both young and old according to needs.

The Government's educational plans and policies have profound population implications. In itself, the raising of the literacy level and the general standard of education of both men and women can be expected to have favourable effect on the demographic situation. Beyond this, with a public accustomed to discussion at different levels and in many forums, the way opens up to a much more direct approach to population education.

CHAPTER II

PRESENTATION OF THE SOCIO-CULTURAL STUDY OF SELECTED REGIONS

OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

Objectives

The Tanzanian society is at an intermediate stage of transition in a process of socio-economic and cultural transformation from the "traditional" to the "modern" as a result of both development plans and needs. Although the aims and policies of development and the dynamics of change are much the same for all parts of the country, the modalities, pace and stages of this transition, differ from one region to another according to specific socio-econmic and cultural circumstances. Inevitably, some situations of conflict arise as new models are introduced, and as the population groups involved are caught up in the evolutionary movement that brings complex shifts both in the conditions of society and attitude towards them. Such changes affect the process of population socialization. By this is meant the process by which three members of the society acquire and transmit knowledge, norms, values and attitudes relative to marriage, the size and make-up of family, and other demographic decisions concerning the size and composition, distribution and movement of the population.

The present socio-cultural study which was carried out in selected regions of Tanzania examines traditional approaches to population problems and needs and the changes in the processes of socialization and education, both formal and informal, that are now occurring, together with the felt needs and expectations of different sections of the societies studied. Its second purpose is to formulate, in the light of this analysis, suggestions for the development of a population education programme adapted to the realities of the Tanzanian society and its development goals.

It is hoped that *educational planners and curriculum developers* will be helped by the findings of this study to advance the practical objectives of population education which is to introduce relevant content relating to population dynamics, including the study of interpersonal relationships into school and out-of-school programmes.

Methodology

The study was carried out in four societal groups deemed most representative of the profile of Tanzania and likely to yield data significant for the practical objectives of the study. The groups chosen are at different stages of transition from "traditional" to "modern". Each group fulfils one or more of the following selection criteria :

- is among the most exposed to the mechanisms of modernization or to the impact of socio-cultural transformation ;
- represents the largest ethnic group and thus the largest proportion of the potentially productive forces in the country ;
- shows the greatest development needs or that it has been the object of significant development action, notably in the area of population ;
- represents a socio-cultural context that is unique in the country.

On this basis the regions selected were *Kilimanjaro*, *Sukumaland*, *Barbaig* and *Zanzibar*.

The study itself involved two approaches. The first consisted of preparing a "dossier" for each region, using previously researched material or data provided by privileged, informants, either scientific analysists or personnel working or having worked in the area under consideration. Each dossier presents information on the productive system, the social organization, the demographic profile of the population and family and sex patterns ; it seeks to identify the inter-relationships between demographic structures and practices and the surrounding social system.

The second more direct method called for the administration of semi-directive and autobiographical interviews to a target population group in selected villages in each region. The interviews sought to obtain information on prevailing population concepts as manifested in a subjects' speech, to reveal the "norm" of concepts concerning population, family structures, social needs, sex roles and expectations ; and to provide data on the productive system and social organization, notably those relevant to population needs and to the role of education.

The rural village was used as the unit of sampling. Nine representative villages were selected – three in Kilimanjaro and two each in Sukumaland, Zanzibar and Barbaig, attention being given to their status in the region in terms of economic activity, level of education and ethnicity, while catering for any diversity therein. Given that urban milieux provide the dynamics for modernization, proximity to urban centres was also taken as a criterion in selecting one of the two villages each in Sukumaland, Zanzibar and Barbaig. These regions are less exposed than Kilimanjaro to the mechanisms of modernization.

To carry out the interviews, it was decided that each of the four regions would have sixty respondents, equally divided among the target group chosen which were the parents, teachers and adolescents of both sexes. Accordingly, three sets of semi-directive and three ses of autobiographical interview guides, – one for parents, one for teachers, one for adolescents – were prepared following the guidelines outlined by the Population Education Section of Unesco. An average of sixty semi-directive interviews and three autobiographical indepth interviews were then individually administered in each region by two trained university final-year students under the supervision of an experienced social scientist working with the University of Dar-es-Salaam. All interviews were live-taped and later transcribed verbatim. Comparative study of the results obtained through interviews and the contents of the dossier was then undertaken with a view to achieve a synthetic analysis.

Profile of the Respondents

Details of semi-directive and autobiographical interviews carried out and the profile of the respondents are given in Table 3 below :

2) Education and Occupation of Parents' Groups

As regards the educational level of the parents interiewed, 20 per cent in Kilimanjaro, 45 per cent in Barbaig, 50 per cent in Sukumaland and 60 per cent in Zanzibar (mostly women) had no formal education. Most others had from 4–6 years of primary education, and five (in Barbaig) had post-primary education ; two (in Kilimanjaro) had received teacher training. Generally, men had more education than women.

About 18 to 25 per cent of the parents interviewed were wage-earners as government employees, teachers, policemen, tailors, etc. and the rest were farmers or cattle raisers (Barbaig). Thus, 16 of 20 parents in Kilimanjaro and 16 of 19 parents in Zanzibar were farmers. In Barbaig, about 25 per cent of parents who had completed primary education were engaged in wage employment.

3) Parents' Change of Residence

Although movement for economic or social reasons is common among the population of Kilimanjaro, the parents interviewed did not report out-migration. In Sukumaland, fourteen of the twenty household heads had moved into the village they were now living in. Of these, eight had moved in the last five years in response to the government directive of settling people into Ujamaa villages ; and six, on becoming 15 years of age, had left in search of a place to start their own homes, a normal practice among "wasukuma". The inclination to move also appeared high in Zanzibar, especially within the islands. Among the Barbaigs, change of residence is difficult to define as seasonal nomadism in search of water and pastures for their cattle is normal. Fifteen per cent of the parents interviewed had lived in the same place for over ten years. Another fifteen per cent had lived in the same area for over five years. Twenty per cent had moved in the last three years.The rest did not indicate any movement.

TABLE 3 : *RESPONDENTS PARTICIPATING IN THE INTERVIEWS*

	PARENTS			ADOLESCENTS			TEACHERS			Total	Biographies
	Male	Female	Tot.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.		
KILIMANJARO	10	10	20	7	13	20	11	9	20	60	3
SUKUMALAND	12	8	20	10	10	20	8	11	19	59	3
BARBAIG	10	10	20	11	9	20	11	8	19	59	3
ZANZIBAR	10	9	19	11	9	20	11	9	20	59	3
TOTAL	42	37	79	39	41	80	41	37	78	237	12

1) Parents : Age, Marital Status and Family Size

A majority of the parents interviewed were below the age of 50. Their age range was 26-75 in Kilimanjaro, 26-70 in Zanzibar and Sukumaland, and 26-65 in Barbaig. All were married except two ; of these, one had children and the other was the guardian of an adolescent.

Although polygamy is allowed and practiced in all the regions, the incidence of polygamy among the respondents interviewed was low, probably because most of them were Christians. Marriages are less stable in Zanzibar than in other sample areas ; of 19 parents interviewed, ten had married more than once, some of them three times.

The average number of children per parent was high in all the areas. In Kilimanjaro, the average number of children was 7.6 ; in Zanzibar 6.52 ; in Barbaig 6.45 and in Sukumaland 5.4.

4) Adolescents : Age, Education and Employment Situation

The majority of the adolescents interviewed were those studying in standard Seven or those who had just completed primary education. Only two among them, girls from Barbaig, had no formal education. Most were in the age group 13–18 years. More than 80 per cent were over 15 years probably because they start school late.

Among those who had completed standard Seven, almost 50 per cent were engaged in the traditional occupations of their parents ; the others were unemployed. In Kilimanjaro, among the eleven adolescents who had completed standard Seven, five were already farmers, one was working as an auto–mechanic and five were unemployed. In Barbaig, six out of eight adolescents completing standard Seven were not employed.

Most families of adolescent respondents were medium to large in size. In Zanzibar, the twenty adolescents interviewed had 130 siblings averaging 6.5 : 9 respondents had 8 or more siblings ; 4 had 4 or fewer siblings. In Sukumaland the 20 adolescents interviewed had in all 113 siblings or an average of 5.65. In Barbaig, most families had 4 to 9 children per family counting children of one wife ; if children of all wives were considered, the number of children per family would be higher.

5) Teachers : Age, Training and Experience

The Tanzanian teacher population is comparatively young, as expansion of education is a recent phenomenon. The post–independence period has seen growth of education at all levels including parallel teacher training institutions. The introduction of Universal Primary Education in 1977 created increased demand for teachers. Hence new efforts and avenues for the training of teachers, including distant learning, have been developed. Most teachers in primary schools therefore are those trained since 1961. Over 70 per cent of the teachers in the study were below 35 years old ; others were below 25 years of age. About 74 per cent of the teachers in Barbaig and 84 per cent in Sukumaland were below 35. Zanzibar has the youngest teacher population for all secondary school graduates are expected to teach in school before they go on to further education. This suggests that most teachers are inexperienced. In Zanzibar, only 25 per cent of the teachers had more than 10 years of teaching experience. In Kilimanjaro 40 per cent of the respondent teachers were Grade A teachers and the others Universal Primary Education (UPE) teachers (1). In Sukumaland, more than 50 per cent were Grade A teachers whereas in Barbaig Grade A teachers accounted for about 25 per cent of the teacher population. In Zanzibar, nearly 50 per cent of the teachers were Grade A teachers, and of the rest few had formal training. Two had no formal education at all, and these were teaching Arabic and Religion.

The teachers concerned have no subject specialization. Grade A teachers normally teach the higher classes from standard five to seven ; and Grade B and Grade C teachers teach lower classes, and those trained under UPE crash programme usually teach in standards 3 and 4. The number of periods taught per week averages about 30 per teacher. Except for the head teachers, nearly all teachers interviewed taught 30 or more periods per week.

6) Marital and Family Situation of Teachers' Group

In Kilimanjaro 60 per cent of the teachers interviewed were married ; in Sukumaland, 50 per cent. In Barbaig, of the 19 teachers interviewed, nine were married, while ten had not married, mainly on account of young age and short period in wage employment. In Zanzibar, 75 per cent of the teachers were married.

The average number of children for teacher-respondents was lower than that for parent groups interviewed, averaging 4.7 in teachers' families in Kilimanjaro, 4.6 in Zanzibar and 2.0 in Sukumaland.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FOUR REGIONS

The four regions selected for the study reflect the diversity of the socio-economic, cultural and ethnic background in Tanzanian society and underline the importance of recognizing such differences in planning, especially educational programmes adapted to community needs.

Kilimanjaro

Kilimanjaro is one of the more densely populated regions in the country exceeding 100 people per square kilometre in some areas. It is also the most exposed to the mechanisms of modernization. According to the census figures, the population of Kilimanjaro was over 900,000 in 1978, comprising five main ethnic groups of which the Chagga constitute some 64 per cent.

Rich fertile volcanic soils combined with adequate rainfall provide ideal conditions for agriculture, the main activity in the region. Coffee, banana and beans are grown on small individual holdings or intensely cultivated in the mountains and the slopes. Seasonal crops such as maize and cotton are also grown, mostly in the lowlands. Plantation farms for sisal and kenaf are also found in dry eastern parts where the rainfall is limited. Animal husbandry is another important activity in parts of the region, cattle being a symbol of wealth.

Geographical location has combined with population increase in the upper and middle slopes of the mountains to contribute to the modernization of agricultural methods and diversification of crops in the region. Land resources are better managed by the use of tractors, terraces, hybrid varieties and fertilizers. The production of coffee, a cash crop and the most important export crop of the country, has expanded over the years. The coo-perative movement has encouraged farmers and the acreage under coffee cultivation has increased tremendously. The Coo-perative Union assists the farmers in improved methods of coffee husbandry by supplying them with insecticides and fungicides. Income from coffee has increased farmers' expectations for modern living conditions and social services in health and education.

---

(1) In Tanzania, the primary school teachers are classified into four grades : *Grade A* teachers are those who have 11 years of school education plus two years of teacher training. *Grade B* teachers have 10 years of schooling and 2 years of teacher training, but this grade has now been abolished. *Grade C* teachers are those with 8 years of schooling and two years of training. In 1977, with the introduction of Universal Primary Education (UPE) on the mainland, a special training programme was started to meet the increased demand of teachers. These teachers, known as UPE teachers, are selected from ex-standard-seven pupils in the villages and given on-the-job training for three years after which they spent some time at teacher training colleges before graduating as trained teachers.

Before coffee was introduced, bananas, beans, yam and other fruits were the main crops. Diversification of crops started with the introduction of coffee. Maize is accepted as a co-staple to bananas and the main staple food in the lowlands. Hybrid varieties of maize have have boosted production ; dairy farming is beginning to take root. Cattle, the main symbol of wealth in the past, are now seen as a source of manure, meat and milk, to be sold for cash. The modern dairy farming project planned by the government is likely to further improve land use and farm management. Another example of diversification is the recent introduction of cardamom cultivation in high altitude areas over the 1,220 metre level.

The *transport system* serving the Kilimanjaro region is comparatively good in rural Tanzania. There are all-weather roads, regular bus and rail services between the urban centres of Arusha, Moshi and Tanga. The region is also adequately covered by health and educational services. This region has more primary and secondary schools than any other and one of the highest literacy rates in the country.

Since 1968, the government has brought in the restructuring settlement scheme so families would no longer live in isolated areas but move into compact planned villages or the "Ujamaa" villages. At first, Ujamaa villages did not attract people from the mountains. To induce them to settle down in these villages, the government is taking mes sures to develop small-scale industries through cooperative movements and provide irrigation facilities.

Another consequence of population growth and the consequent shortage of land, as well as of the spread of education has been an increase in migration to other areas in search of land for cultivation, and for employment or further education. Chagga, the largest ethnic group inhabiting this region, are among the most mobile groups in the country.

Sukumaland

Sukumaland is the land of Wasukuma, the largest ethnic group in Tanzania. It has a population of nearly 2 million people spread over about 70,000 square kilometres with a population density varying between 17 and 53 persons per square kilometre. The landscape is one of flat to rolling terrain interrupted in a few places with larger hill areas. The area receives an annual rainfall of between 750 and 1,000 millimetres, tending to be higher near the lake and in the western portion of the region with a gradual decrease to the South and the East.

The main economic activity in the region is agriculture and livestock farming. Due to the seasonal nature of rainfall, agricultural activities are normally carried out in the wet season. Sukuma is a rural agricultural society with only about one per cent of the population living in the Mwanza township ; and the existence of this town and other population centres is largely due to outside influences. Their participation in the market economy is limited to the sale of cotton, one of the three main export crops, to the co-operative unions and to the supply of milk, fruits and vegetables to urban centres from their immediate hinterlands.

The cultivation of food crops and legumes mainly used for consumption, varies according to climatic possibilities and include rice, maize, sorghum, millet, cassava, ground nuts and bambara nuts. In the northern areas, maize has replaced millet and sorghum which are still the grain staples in the south. The technology used in agriculture is predominantly traditional. Oxplows are now being used mainly in the south ; tractors are used in few areas.

Cattle farming is another important economic activity. Sukumaland has more cattle per unit of land than in any other region in the country but although cattle are a source of higher income than cotton, they do not constitute the main activity of most Sukuma farmers. The number of cattle owned varies from area to area : in Kuinba district about half the households own livestock whereas in some areas of Mwanza district fewer than 20 per cent own any.

In recent years the development effort in this region has focussed on the formation of Ujumaa villages. This has facilitated the improvement of agricultural practices and the provision of services such as a drinking water supply. In agriculture the efforts are geared toward improving cotton production through better farming methods, fertilizers and improved seeds. Tractor-hire services introduced recently have not met with much success. Dispensaries, hospitals and schools are among the modern institutions which appear to have the greatest influence on the lives of the people. Although people believe in and prefer traditional medicine for a number of diseases, for certain other ailments they increasingly go to the hospitals, mission dispensaries and the government mobile hospitals which pay regular visits to the region. This has resulted in a general improvement of health, particularly child care in the region. For some time parents resisted sending their children to the school, the only parents who accepted to send their children to school were those who had converted to Christianity. However since independence, partly due to active propaganda by TANU and the government, there has been a steady increase in enrolments.

Barbaig

The Barbaigs are a semi-nomadic pastoralist ethnic group, consisting of about 20,000 people (1970). They are found mainly in the Barbaig Division which has an estimated population of 50,000 (1978). The landscape is one of rolling hills between 1,000 and 2,100 metres above sea-level. Most of the area gets between 650 to 900 mm of rain annually. Due to scant rainfall and heavy evaporation rates the vegetation is mainly scrub-thorn bush and grass during the wet season. As there are no permanent sources of water, except for small crater lakes, the Barbaigs are generally on the move in search of pastures for their animals during the dry season.

The arrival of other ethnic groups, particularly the Iraqw into the area and of inter-ethnic marriages, has affected to some extent the pastoralist life-style of the Barbaigs. As cultivators and herders, the Iraqw's grew maize and millet and increasingly occupied fertile areas thereby forcing the Barbaigs either to stand and compete for land for crops and livestock or to move between fertile areas for grazing. Expanding cultivation by both Iraqw and some of the Barbaig has placed greater demands on the carrying capacity of land and created problems for the Barbaig pastoralists.

The main economic activity of the Barbaigs, who are least exposed to modernization, is cattle herding which dominates their life style. They raise cattle, sheep, goats and donkeys. The cow is the source of milk (the staple food), milk products and meat and skin for clothes. On a small scale they cultivate maize, sorghum, millet and beans. Other economic activities include honey gathering and the hunting of game animals.

Unlike the Iraqw's and other tribes settled in the Barbaig Division who increasingly adopt modern methods of farming, the Barbaigs use the traditional farming techniques and implements (hand hoes, axes, knives). Their cattle raising techniques are also by and large traditional although the use of modern methods such as cattle dips, modern drugs, artificial insemination, are slowly gaining ground.

The Barbaig's exposure to market-economy is a basically limited to the rotating monthly cattle auctions held in different areas of the Barbaig Division. Livestock are the primary symbol and source of wealth. Since food crops are grown for household consumption, the surplus if any is sold to buy cattle or barter against it. The few trading settlements with shops and market places found in the Division are in the hands of non-Barbaigs.

Resistance of the Barbaigs to change has been a source of concern to the government which has recently launched campaigns aimed at the settlement of these semi-nomadic pastoralists. Development efforts in this region have focussed on the construction of roads, and provision of schools, dispensaries and water. But these facilities are still inadequate. People still use mules and head porterage for carrying goods in areas away from the main roads. The health services are inadequate and people often have to walk distances of over 10 kilometres to reach a dispensary. Clean water has been provided to trading settlements and villages along the main road, but most Barbaigs still rely on the few streams and crater lakes for their water requirements. A number of schools have been opened in the Division under the national Universal Primary Education Programme, but school attendance among the Barbaig youth is low because of the labour requirements of the livestock economy in which most youth participate and because of traditional attitudes towards education.

Zanzibar

Zanzibar presents in many ways a unique socio-cultural context due to the influence of Arabic, Persian, Indian, and European cultures. The two islands, Zanzibar and Pemba, are situated in the Indian Ocean about 25 miles from each other and from the east coast of Africa. Zanzibar, built of coral rock and some 54 miles long, is slightly larger than Pemba.

The total population of Zanzibar which is of mixed stock and predominantly (90 per cent) Muslim was estimated in 1978 at about 480,000. The main economic activities are agriculture and fishing.

Farming units are small and managed by families. The hand hoe is the principal tool. Cloves and coconuts, the most important exchange earner for Zanzibar are grown mainly on plantations formerly owned by Oman Arabs under a feudal system but now nationalized. Three quarters of the cloves grown in the country come from Pemba. The clove picking season from November to July is an important source of employment and income for hundreds of workers who come from urban areas of Zanzibar and also from the mainland. Most of the food crops are grown solely for internal consumption and indeed large amounts of rice and maize have to be imported annually.

Development efforts have been towards diversification of economic activity through the promotion of banana and spices cultivation, development of industries and commerce, and community development projects. They include the provision of educational, health and rural housing facilities. Medical facilities have been made available to most villages. Under the rural housing scheme, the government has been able to construct modern well-equipped, widely available, flats. Educational facilities have also been extended. Whereas ten years ago the parents were unwilling to send their children to the school, now almost every child attends a school which is free and compulsory up to 10 grades. As a result, an increasing number of youth tend to go to the mainland in search of higher education and suitable wage employment.

RELATION OF KINSHIP AND PRODUCTIVE SYSTEMS

Despite diversity in economic activity among the four groups, there are similarities in the organization of the productive system, which is loosely linked to the kinship system. In all the four regions, the basic unit of production and consumption is the household, in which the eldest male is the dominant authority.

The Kinship System

The household itself is conceived within the framework of a polygamous and/or extended family based on patrilinear filiation system. Thus, a man's family includes in addition to his wife or wives and children, his brothers, their wives and children and his own parents. It may also include his grand-parents and grand-children and other relatives on the father's side. The main purpose of this kingroup is to ensure mutual support in times of difficulties or during special events in the family, such as marriage or ceremonies.

1) Inheritance

The participation of the various members of the family in the productive activity and their share in the inheritance is decided upon by the male head of the family according to custom and varies with the ethnic group.

Inheritance among the Chaggas in Kilimanjaro depends on position in the family structure - whether the first or the last son, whether he is born to the first or last wife, the level of education, the number of relatives working outside and their incomes, and so on. Usually the youngest son inherits the largest share. In some cases, the grandfather may decide not to divide land among his sons in which case they are obliged to go away in search of wage employment or to work on their fathers' land for wages. Similarly the grand-sons may also have to work on family land for wages.

In Sukumaland, on the other hand, land in customarily communal property and allocation of land according to the needs and possibilities of a family or its eventual transfer to another family is the responsibility of the village headman. A man retained rights to the use of land so long as he continued to cultivate it effectively. He also had a right to private grazing land as well as to using uncultivated land for grazing. In recent years, however, with the development of cotton cultivation, land is increasingly being treated as private property and is inherited by the eldest son who becomes the head of the household. The some holds for Zanzibar.

Among the Barbaigs, on the other hand, inheritance which follows the principle of premogeniture is practised according to a "patrilineal sanguentary lineage" system comprising about 60 clans. Maximal lineages are ranked in order of seniority by the social position of wives and their sons in the ancestral polygamous household of the clan founder, generally going back four generations, that is, the position of the wives will determine the break-point of segments. Thus in a clan having three maximal lineages (because the clan founder had three wives), the highest rank is given to those who trace their descent from the first son of the first wife of a clan founder, intermediate ranking is given to those tracing their genealogical connections to the first son of the second wife, and the junior maximal lineage to the descendants of the first son of the third wife. Although descent, succession and inheritance are determined patrilineally by adherence to the above system, a large part of the inheritance of cattle however, is transferred through women to their sons and daughters. A girl is offered "marriage cattle" at the time of her marriage, partly from her father, mother, full and married brothers (dowry cattle) and partly from her father-in-law and her husband. The dowry so received is kept by her for her sons and daughters, and may be the largest share of household's herd over which the husband has only nominal control. Thus the inheritance system is a source of differentiation with the first son of the first wife, called the heir or"duachet" inheriting the largest share of the household cattle from his father. Younger sons of junior or even senior wives have precarious positions in terms of both inheritance and social role which relegate them to a position of service to the duachet and his children.

2) Productive System

The *Basic unit of production* is the household, which includes a man, his wife or wives and children. It may also include his parents, grandchildren and daughters-in-law and in the case of the Sukuma sometimes sons-in-law. They all participate in the productive work. In all the societies, division of labour by sex is clearly manifest. Both male and female work on the farm, but certain jobs are reserved for men and certain others for women, household work being their most important activity. In Kilimanjaro, for instance, household chores, feeding cattle that are kept in stalls, growing and selling bananas and beans and brewing beer are the exclusive responsibility of females. Usually women take care of minor household expenses through the money they earn by selling bananas and beans and brewing beer. Women from poor peasant families also engage in wage employment, mainly coffee picking in large plantations. Males build houses, prune coffee trees, and open new farms whenever necessary and possible. They tend to control coffee plantations which bring them money, leaving food-crop cultivation to women.

Division of labour, however, is not respected during the rainy and harvesting seasons when the workload is heavier. In areas with seasonal rainfall such as Sukumaland, Barbaig, and Zanzibar, the short rainy period requires that farming activities be carried out within a short period of four to five months by all members of the household, without distinction. Similarly, during the harvesting period for cotton in Sukumaland, coffee in Kilimanjaro and cloves in Zanzibar, labour is expanded when needed. For instance, children from the age of 8 or 10 used to participate in household and productive activities throughout the year. Today, since most of them go to school including boarding schools, they take part only after school hours or during holidays.

In all four areas, the decision making power in the household rests with the male head of the family - the grandfather in the case of an extended family or the father in the case of a nuclear family. He owns the land, the crops and the cattle and decides on all aspects of productive, economic and related social activities. He is responsible for the allocation of tasks among the different members of the household and has control over the family income and its distribution to all those constituting part of the family, including dependent relatives.

Women have no rights in the decision-making process, the only exception being among the Barbaigs where women decide on the disposal of "dowry cattle" that they received at the time of marriage. Thus when the father is away it is the eldest son who decides even if the mother is present. This control of family income has met with dissatisfaction among the youth resulting in a dampening of the incentives of the youth in the family production.

The practice of sharing the family produce with non-family members, once more widespread, has almost disappeared except in Pemba where some parents claimed that they share with their neighbours and relatives.

3) Responsibilities

In all the four societies, some members of the family or the community are responsible for looking after elderly persons. Among the Chagga of the Kilimanjaro, the youngest son bears this duty of caring for elderly parents. Elder sons normally move out to look for land to cultivate or seek employment. If there is no son in the family, the son-in-law who is married to the last born girl shoulders the responsibility. In Sukumaland, male children normally look after the older parents. Where there is no son, the task falls on the daughters.

Among the Barbaig, the clan and society at large take care of the elders if they have no immediate family members to look after them. Elders in Barbaig are thought of as a link between the living and the dead, revealing when they die the circumstances of the tribe to its ancestors. In Zanzibar, on the other hand, apart from being cared for by the sons or daughters, elders get a fifty shilling pension per month from the government.

In such ways the traditional relationship between the kinship system and the productive system is being affected both by the emergence of new socio-political structures and by changes in the socio-economic situation. As will be shown in the next section, these two factors combine to reduce the authority of traditional power structures and the cohesiveness of the extended family system based on patriarchal authority.

SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political Units

Traditional socio-political organizations differed in the four societies. Among the Sukumas, "chiefdom" was the largest political unit but usually were so small that the chief could maintain personal contact with all his subjects. He ruled by the grace of a "Council of State", the members of which held their posts by inheritance. Although the chief's power in matters of law and religion was undeniable, his impact on everyday life was modest. Nevertheless he had a large say in the appointment of the village "headman", both the major headmen (as a rule the chief's sons) with authority in their own neighbourhood and some power over people who had left the community in search of land; and of the minor head men for the founders of new neighbourhoods, usually sons or near relatives of the major headmen.

Chiefs as well as headmen administered justice, the chiefs dealing with the most serious offences. Minor conflicts such as domestic quarrels were settled by the committee of elders which was responsible for maintaining law and order and for the well-being of the community.

Judicial Functions

This system underwent changes during the Colonial period. *Judicial functions* were entrusted to a person directly appointed by government ; chiefs retained control over administrative matters only and were used as intermediaries between the government and the people. As a result, the chief tended to be alienated from his subjects, the more so because he reigned more by favour of foreign rulers rather than by the grace of his own subjects and councillors.

Among the Barbaigs, on the other hand, the clan chief is only a ritual functionary, and political authority is exercised by the neighbourhood Council. Convened by any local elder when there is need, the council meetings are attended by male elders and young men only. Transient leadership is a feature of these Councils. As the herders move in search of pasture, the absence of any localized kin groups precludes the possibility of a clan of lineage forming the nucleus for a formal political structure with permanent authority. The Council discusses crises within a family or the whole neighbourhood and deals with individual misconduct or grazing disputes. It has the power to apply such sanctions as "cattle fine" and banishment. The ruling of the Council is final and is expected to be followed.

There also exists a *"women 's neighbourhood council"* to defend the collectively and individually recognized rights of women in the community. If a man has violated rights of his wife or another woman, the women council collectively imposes legal action against him, and in serious cases they may impose a cattle fine on a husband and send his wife home to her father or her elder brother till the husband complies. Any married woman can speak at the council meeting and men may attend.

During colonial times, tribal chiefs were appointed as administrators and primary courts were established. However, the Barbaig retained their own paramount chief who continued to maintain traditional law and order and preserved the ritual and cultural norms of the society in the face of opposition and change introduced by the "external governments".

The islands of Zanzibar and Pemba which were ruled by a Sultan had their own political organization and administrative system. The "Sheha", selected by the village elders and district authorities was the local chief responsible for the maintenance of law and order with police powers and some judicial authority. They continued to function officially until the Zanzibar revolution in 1964.

Religious and social matters affecting the people were dealt with by the Sheikh who was a senior member and head of a clan of Arabs. But all economic and social matters affecting the life of the community were decided upon collectively under the guidance of the village elders. For instance, decisions concerning building a road, a mosque or a market or sinking a well and matters pertaining to traditional beliefs were made on this basis.

New Administrative Machinery

Since independence, the local and indigeneous systems have been superseded by government, the introduction of state and party bureaucracy and the development of self-government institutions from the village level upwards. New administrative posts and units – e.g. Assistant Division Executive Officier, ward leaders, the primary courts, and police stations – have replaced the authority previously held by chiefs and village headmen in Sukumaland, and Kilimanjaro, by the chief and the neighbourhood councils in Barbaig and by the Sheha and the Sheikh in Zanzibar. Village headmen, elders and sheikhs who may enjoy the confidence of the people and exercise some authority with regard to religious and cultural practices are encouraged to serve as intermediaries between the government authorities and the people, so as to facilitate the acceptance of modern institutions.

Another significant development since independence has been the creation of units of the national political party (TANU, now known as Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), at village, ward and district levels. At the *village level* there is a party cell with a head for every ten households. The cells hold discussion on development programmes and help mobilize the support and participation of the local population in their execution. The party officials, who are persons of local influence, discuss with village elders and other influential groups matters requiring their support and mediate between government authorities and the people on development and population issues. These cells are accessible to both men and women and thus give women opportunity to participate and to influence decision-making at least in matters jointly concerning them, the government and the party at grass-root level. The Branch Party Committee at the *local level* in addition to being responsible to the regional Party Secretary, forms an important link between the people in the village and the other levels of leadership. The chance that women now have of being represented on Branch Party Committees and thus having access to administrative and development activities has contributed further towards reducing the gap that existed between men and women in the decision-making process.

Also important in this context is the development of *self-government bodies* at the local level geared to the promotion of participatory socialism. The institution of "village assemblies" and "village councils", the creating of *development planning committees* dealing with specific functions at the village, ward, district and regional levels, and the provision of technical guidance through various categories of extension services such as village managers and village management technicians, have encouraged people to take interest in and become aware of socio-economic population issues, and to take part in the planning and executing of development plans at the local level.

Over the years, these new socio-political structures operating at local level, have tended to eliminate or reduce the authority of traditional ethnic-centred socio-political leaders in administrative, judicial and many economic matters although they still retain some influence over cultural and social practices, particularly among the older generation.

It would be pertinent to observe in this context that the resettlement of people in villages has given modern socio-political structures a relatively greater impact on people than the traditional system, particularly among the younger and educated sections of the population who have moved into the villages. This is due to a combination of several factors. Settling in villages has affected the stability and cohesiveness of the extended family homestead in which parents and community elders exercised authority according to accepted norms and values. Patriarchal authority has declined in an environment where parents and elders are either absent or unable to exercise their authority to the same extent. Again, the new institutions, by providing opportunities for popular participation in development activities and decision-making, create a framework for new types of relationships based on equality between men and women, and between older and younger generations. Former hierarchical relationships tend to fall away, even in homesteads still traditionally oriented, as younger people and the better educated in the community adjust to modern socio-political structures and the changing socio-economic context, and resist certain traditional norms and values.

CHAPITER III

THE SOCIALIZATION PROCESS AND POPULATION RELATED NORMS AND VALUES

INTRODUCTION

An overview of the historical evolution of educational activity in the different regions of the world reveals that education is as old as society itself. Since the dawn of civilization, children and adults have received education from their parents and elders. They were socialized in the culture and value systems of the groups to which they belonged within the family and by the elders of the community. They also acquired vocational training in family occupations and learned to communicate and calculate by assisting their parents, by imitation and through actual participation. Girls learned homemaking and child-rearing as well as other vocational skills they needed, by assisting their mothers and by taking part in essential activities. Their orientation to religion and culture came through the discourses and practices built around local customs, rites and ceremonies. Education was natural, continuous and "informal" – an integral part of living. This informal educational process through which a social group transmits its norms and values to the young is known as "*Socialization*".

Natural, informal forms of learning prevail to the present day and in many regions of the world they still provide the only form of education for millions of young people. Even where other forms of institutionalized education have developed, this type of "informal education" still plays a significant role in the formation of the culture and value systems of people.

The evolution of educational activity has followed a similar path in the societal groups under study for whom institutionalized forms of education are a comparatively recent development beyond the informal education on which most people were nurtured. Even today, in the absence of adequate preschool education most children have no other education up to the age of 7, when they become eligible for schooling. Socio-economic and cultural changes occurring under the impact of development have influenced informal educational processes in these societies. An attempt is made below to examine how these developments affect the socialization of the child and the adolescent and the initiation into working life.

The "*socialization process*" is a life-long process from infancy through adulthood when the individual attains the status of a participant in the given society. It may continue to evolve and change as the individual interacts with socializing agents. Socialization can be said to take place in two main phases : *primary socialization* as the child is introduced to the social world within the family and peer groups ; and *secondary socialization* aimed at completing the social integration of the individual under the influence of certain institutional systems. With the expansion of the educational system, school has now emerged as the prime factor in secondary socialization often replacing traditional institutions such as the "initiatory" system. Both aim at transmitting accepted norms and values to the individual to help establish a relationship at the micro-level (family) and at the macro-level (society).

Below are examined four broad areas of the traditional process of socialization, together with the norms and values related to population concepts and practices, and then more specifically the role of the school.

THE TRADITIONAL PROCESS OF SOCIALIZATION

Socialization for the Attainment of Self-dependence

Socialization for the attainment of self-dependence is aimed at detaching the child from the almost constant care which it requires from the mother. During the first months of life, mother and baby live in a kind of symbiosis. Later, the older brothers and sisters mind the child and participate in its education. However, the ultimate authority, the fathers are little involved in children's education until they are about 7 or 8 years.

Education of the Child in the Family Matrices and Dynamics

Training in all four investigated societies starts early with a first emphasis on teaching socially-accepted behaviour towards parents, other relatives and elders in family and community. Subsequently children are encouraged to participate in family work. *Sex differentiation* in training begins to appear already from the age of two.

Children between the age of 4 and 7 years are gradually given more responsibility. Sex differentiation is manifested more clearly. Girls begin to do light household tasks. But among the Sukuma and Barbaig, girls may also share herding duties, essentially boys tasks if there is no older boy in the household. Sukuma boys participate in herding tasks, while the Barbaig boys are assigned minor duties such as looking after calves and goats around the home or a little hoeing in the household garden.

During this stage the child *learns by imitation*. They act as the "extension of their mother's hand" and are kept busy running errands. Their play is conceived to imitate the activities and the behaviour of the adults, and doing the assigned tasks becomes often a continuation of the game. However, the whole educational process is aimed at discipline and obedience.

In the *extended family* as compared with the nuclear homestead more common today, children had more leisure and less parental supervision. Grand-parents and other elders were indulgent towards them and they had more time to develop initiative and creativity through play.

Socialization in Productive Activities

By the age of 7-8 years children are expected to be more independent in fulfilling the tasks assigned to them. A Sukuma girl initially undertakes simple household duties. When she is twelve years old, she is expected to be able to perform all the functions of her mother. Boys are given more serious herding and milking duties. In families without cattle, both boys and girls accompany the parents to the farm.

Similarly among the Barbaigs this is the age when the children are expected to perform fixed duties, look after themselves and also take care of the younger children in the family. Although sex differentiation as regards tasks increases, it is not complete. Some Sukuma mothers may teach both boys and girls how to cook so they can look after themselves and younger children. But since boys have already begun to identify themselves with the adult male role, some may consider even fetching water below their dignity !

Thus in all societies under study, education for productive work begins around the age of 7 or 8 years. At this stage fathers begin to take interest in the education of their children, particularly the boys who assist them in agricultural tasks. Where land is available, as in Sukumaland and Kilimanjaro, children may be given a plot of their own to grow cash crops on, sometimes enough to meet their basic expenses like buying school uniforms, pens, pencils and books.

Common to all the societies under study is the associating of "maturity" and "adulthood" with the ability to tackle problems and to accomplish certain tasks. This may be to build a house in the case of a young man or to be reasonably competent in all the accepted female roles such as cooking for a woman. In these respects boys are generally considered mature around 16-18 years of age and girls between 13 and 17 years, and this phase of instruction is at an end.

Socialization in Social Norms and Values

Socialization in social norms and values of the clan/ethnic group is an ongoing process from early childhood to adulthood; the child learns through observation of practices and from stories, sayings and poems narrated by parents and elders and from rites and ceremonies associated with significant events in the family and the community. Certain institutions such as age goupings and initiation ceremonies are designed to complete social integration by transmitting to adolescents the norms and values of the community so that they may participate in maintaining the social relationships upon which the community is founded and contribute towards its well-being. Because these institutions hold special significance for population socialization they are considered in more detail here.

1) Youth groups

Traditionally each societal group under study had its own system of age-groupings and initiation ceremonies. Some of them, however, have either disappeared or become less effective in recent years. The Barbaigs have their own youth organization independent of other organizations. They regularly hold night meetings where they discuss such topics as social behaviour, norms and values of the society, marriage customs and defence questions. But they are not allowed to disclose the details of such night meetings. Older youths before retiring from the group will impart the knowledge concerning the norms and values of the Barbaigs to younger members. Indeed the continuity and survival of accepted social values depends to a large extent on the effectiveness of this group.

Similarly, in Sukumaland, young people belong to organizations known as Basumba Societies. These societies are mainly composed of all the young men and women living in a village over the age of 15. The Chairman of the society, known as nsumba ntare (the older boy), is elected at a village meeting and holds office until he becomes old enough to leave the office to join adults or dies. Members are expected to assist the community by, for instance, constructing and maintaining wells and roads, digging graves, announcing deaths to relatives living elsewhere, rebuilding houses destroyed by fire, performing tasks at wedding ceremonies and assisting the bridegroom when he moves in with the family of the bride and so on. They normally provide these services in exchange for bulls or for money which is periodically used for holding a feast for the members. A few jobs are, however, done free of charge.

The chairman of the society represents the views of the young people at the village meetings and is traditionally responsible for distributing land to newcomers to the villages.

When he is old enough usually about 35 years or when his son joins the group, a man leaves the "basumba" and becomes a member of the elders' group (Kinamhala) after initiation. Similarly women after getting married leave the "basumba" to join the married women's group or "bagikulu".

2) Initiation systems

Traditionally most of the norms and values affecting population knowledge and practices such as nuptiality, family size, fertility and sex-relationships are absorbed through observation of practices and from listening to talks among parents and elders on these matters and from sayings and poems. They are also acquired through initiation systems, discussions with peers in youth organizations and other socially approved arrangements.

In Zanzibar, for instance, boys were given instruction in sex matters and social customs related to marriage and family during the circumcision period which usually lasted 21 days and girls were given instruction in man-woman relationships just before marriage. In Zanzibar Island, women danced and imitated the sexual act for the benefit of the girl ; in Pemba, in addition to this dance, girls who were to be married were sent for a short course of instruction with an elderly married couple.

In Kilimanjaro some sections of the "chagga society" allowed a certain sexual freedom among boys and girls before marriage and also instructed them on controlled sex experience to avoid pregnancies. In case of accidental pregnancy, the mother instructed the girl on various methods of inducing abortion. Among the Pare of the Kilimanjaro, periods ranging from one week to two months were devoted to male initiation ceremonies in remote and sacred forests while girls were secluded for one week for rigorous sex and matrimonial instruction.

In Sukumaland an adult was designated by the community to give instruction in sex and family matters to boys. Today there is now no special instruction about sexuality and sexual behaviour but, following tradition, young people have a certain degree of sexual liberty. Boys, after reaching the age of ten and girls after their first menstruation and until marriage, do not sleep in their parent's house but spend the night in separate "bachelor huts" called "maji". During this transition period, boys, and even married men and girls meet with each other in the evenings outside the maji. The ideal behaviour for girls and boys during this period is to have a few lovers and gain sufficient experience necessary for marriage. They are expected to be discreet and avoid pregnancy. For this reason, most girls are instructed in traditional contraceptive methods.

However these traditional initiation systems have almost disappeared due partly to the influence of Christianity (in Kilimanjaro and to some extent in Sukumaland), and most significantly because most children are away at school.

3) Family and fertility

In the older tradition, polygamous and extended families were regarded as the ideal in all the four societies. In Kilimanjaro and in Sukumaland *polygamy* no longer exists among Christian families but is seen as a source of work force in the form of wives and children and hence a source of increased production and is thus still practised among non-Christian families in all the four investigated societies. However, only a rich man can now afford to marry many wives because this involves payment of a heavy bridewealth, especially in Sukumaland, and increased expenditure. In Zanzibar half the parents interviewed had married more than once ; it should be noted that teachers, have more stable marriages. In all these areas, most parents and teachers tend to regard polygamous marriages as being inconvenient and out of line with modern developments.

All four societies still attach great importance to having a large *number of children* the ideal number desired varying between six to a maximum of ten. The desirability of having a large number of children is most often expressed by older people and by peasant farmers engaged in traditional occupations, some of whom have between 13 and 15 children. These parents see children as *a source of labour force* necessary for the family productive activities ; and as *an investment for the future* since children are expected to look after their aged parents.

Where infant mortality rates are high as in the rural areas of Sukumaland, Barbaig and Zanzibar, parents tend to have as many children as possible so as to ensure that at least some children will survive to support them.

Prestige attached to fertility is a significant factor. In all the societies under study a large family gained prestige in the community.Thus most males, particularly well-to-do but less educated peasants, will aspire to having several wives and a large number of children.

The *cost of bringing up children* is not a deterrent in the rich peasant family where children contribute to the family income by participating in gainful activities. But poor peasant families who do not grow enough food find it difficult to bring up a large family. Some of them will bear the burden with the hope that once grown up, children will bring prosperity to the family by finding wage employment.

Many parents, particularly of the younger age group, are becoming aware that the changing economic situation is increasing the difficulties involved in bringing up children who go to school and do not contribute to labour or earnings. They may prefer to have fewer children but fail in this because of social pressure from elders or ignorance of fertility control measures. Wage earners, represented by teachers in the study, differ from peasants in prefering smaller families. For them, fixed income, higher levels of education, awareness of the consequences of a large family on the quality of life which they wish to ensure for themselves and their children operate as natural constraints.

The two-year interval which coincides with breast feeding period is largely maintained in Sukumaland and Kilimanjaro but because of traditional beliefs rather than through concern for the health of mother or child. The Sukuma believe that sexual intercourse during the breast feeding period results in the death of the child, and the woman after child birth normally goes to live with her parents for the duration of this period. Similarly, in Kilimanjaro, women used to go to live with their mothers-in-law for the same reason. But no such beliefs or practices to regulate the interval between births exist among the Barbaigs for whom the duration of abstinence is six months or in Zanzibar where it lasts only 40 days. For these regions the interval between births tends to be short, perhaps only one year. Most rich peasants, given the prestige and economic value attached to fertility, tend to have several wives and do not practice any regular spacing of births. Younger parents with some education and wage-earning civil servants and teachers are more careful about child-spacing as a means to having between 4 and 6 children which they regard as a small family.

As regard *sex preference* most parents like to have both boys and girls. Parents in Kilimanjaro and Barbaig, but not those in Sukumaland or Zanzibar, expressed preference to have a boy as the first child. It was predictable that all parents including teachers would emphasize the importance of having boys, since in all four patrilinear socieites inheritance and lineage take place through the male children and males are expected to look after the family property as well as their parents in later years.

Differences between fathers and mothers are also noticeable as regards sex preferences. In general, fathers see it as an advantage to have boys rather than girls whom they see as more of a burden and less of a support since they eventually would leave home and come under the control of a husband. Mothers tended to favour girls because they stayed at home and assisted in the household activities.

This does not imply that girls are considered less important. In Sukumaland and among the Barbaig, girls were deemed essential both for economic and social reasons. Whenever a ceremonious burial is given to a Barbaig parent, a girl is required to perform certain rites ; among the Sukuma a girl is a source of wealth bringing cattle to the parents' family in the form of "bridewealth". Since cattle have to be paid as "bridewealth" when the boys get married, having boys alone would mean a loss to the family. Naturally the Sukuma preferred to have both boys and girls.

4) Sterility

The causes of sterility are not known to people. They attribute it to venereal disease (which may be indeed a cause of sterility) in Kilimanjaro and Sukumaland or to God's wish in Zanzibar or as a punishment for breaking a family taboo within the Barbaig. But in most cases the outcomes are well-defined. Improved information and knowledge about the causes and consequences of venereal diseases could be part of an educational programme as sex education and complementary to already existing activities in health education for adults.

A consequence of the prestige attached to fertility is that sterile couples are ridiculed in Sukumaland, pitied in Kilimanjaro and even despised among the Barbaig. The Barbaig husband of a childless union is not allowed to attend traditional ceremonies. For all the societies, a couple who cannot have children would normally seek cure from the local medicine man or from a doctor. If this failed the wife would advise the man to marry another wife. In Barbaig and Kilimanjaro the couple might be allowed to adopt a child given by the wife's sisters or husband's relatives which usually keeps the marriage going. The barren wife has to return to her brothers, once her husband dies. A much more common outcome would be divorce or separation and remarriage by the husband. Among the Barbaig, if the husband married another wife and failed to have children again, then the former wife would be permitted to have children with the husband's brothers.

5) Marriage

In the four societies the purpose of marriage is procreation and traditionally early marriages were preferred to ensure a long fertile period. Whereas the tendency for early marriage still persists to some degree in Zanzibar and Barbaig, where males marry between the ages of 17 and 25 years and females from 12 – 20 years, in Kilimanjaro and increasingly in Sukumaland the age of marriage is rising. In Kilimanjaro men usually marry between the age of 25 and 30 years, and women from 20 - 25 years ; in Sukumaland 20 years and 17 years respectively. The movement towards later marriages, evident in all the societies can be attributed to several factors, the most important factor being related to schooling. On the mainland of Tanzania, young people are not permitted by law to marry before completing school. In Zanzibar young women may marry while at school if the husband agrees to let her continue schooling. Since 10 years schooling is compulsory in Zanzibar, most young men and many young women are not likely to wed before they are at least seventeen years old. A second delaying factor is that most adolescents prefer to have a job and a house to live in before being married whereas young married couples previously would stay with parents for a few years and participate in family productive activities while the parents looked after their major needs. Economic and cultural changes have inclined parents towards a preference for later marriages.

Traditionally, in all areas except Sukumaland, parents and elders chose spouses for their children after assessing the family background and character of the future husband or wife and negotiating dowry. In Sukumaland, adolescents are allowed to choose their spouses subject to parents giving consent after due scruting and negotiation of "bridewealth". There is an increasing trend among progressive parents to allow their children, particularly the young men, to choose their own partners.

Virginity was very important and even insisted upon in all the areas except Sukumaland, where it was much valued but not made an essential condition for marrying. In all the societies, virginity was a matter of pride for the family concerned ; rewards were given to the bride or her mother when a girl was found to be virgin at the time of marriage. Against this background the importance of virginity is tending to decline in all the areas except perhaps in Zanzibar where loss of virginity before marriage can be a sufficient reason for later divorce.

6) Maternity and sexuality

Sex is traditionally associated with marriage and with procreation rather than with the pleasure, of sexual acts *per se*. Procreation of as many children as possible within marriage has been encouraged and birth of children outside wedlock held in disfavour. Pregnancy is considered a normal function which should not be interfered with and fertile parents with many children are admired and respected. Family feeling and community concern centres on the well-being of the mother and child both before and after the birth. Among the Barbaigs, when it is known that a woman has conceived, the co-wives of her husband or other elder women instruct her on pre-natal care and delivery. Family and community take care of her needs and elder women of the community act as mid-wives. A special diet is prescribed for her and she is not allowed to undertake difficult tasks. In all the societies special ceremonies and rites are performed and charms worn to ensure the health of mother and child.

The *birth of a child* is an occasion for celebration in the family and in the whole neighbourhood. Both in Barbaig and in Kilimanjaro, a goat is slaughtered to feed the mother and for distribution to other women ; in Zanzibar it is a cock (if a boy) or a hen (if a girl). Barbaig women organize a "mission of sympathy", bringing gifts of milk and maize to the mother and organizing singing and dancing for a few days. The after-delivery nursing of the mother and child lasts 30 days (Barbaig) to 40 days (Zanzibar). Breast-feeding continues for two and a half years.

In Zanzibar and among the Barbaigs, *circumcision* of boys is practised in the belief that it is necessary in order to be able to marry and bear children. In Zanzibar and among the Barbaigs, groups of boys were circumcized when they were between 5 to 10 years. By contrast, in Kilimanjaro and Sukumaland, no circumcision is performed and there are no special ceremonies or puberty rites to mark sexual maturity. In Sukumaland a boy is considered ready to marry if he builds a home correctly without any assistance. In all societies, a boy is considered eligible for marriage at age 15 or 16.

No initiation ceremonies are held for girls in any of the areas under study except among the Barbaigs. Young Barbaig girls are quietly clitoridectomized by an old non-Barbaig woman under the direction of the child's mother. In Zanzibar, attainment of puberty makes the girl eligible for marriage. In all the other societies a girl is considered eligible for marriage after the appearance of pubic hair, the development of her breasts and the sign of menstruation normally between 14 and 16 years.

Although pre-marital sexual liberty exists among the Sukuma and among certain sections of Chaggas in Kilimanjaro, pregnancy outside wedlock and adultery or extra-marital relations are disapproved in all the societies.

Socio-economic changes and the extension of health and educational services in these societies, as well as the spread of Christianity in Kilimanjaro, Sukumaland and to some extent in Barbaig, have affected some of these traditional practices and values, initiating changes in attitudes towards sexuality. These changes are more marked among younger people and near urban centres than in rural areas where traditions remain strong. Polygamous marriages are on the decline among Christians ; initiation sessions are no more held in Kilimanjaro ; and group circumcision of boys in Zanzibar has been replaced by individual circumcision performed in clinics. As a result, boys no longer receive instruction as regards sexuality and family matters as in group initiation sessions in the past. Juvenile pregnancies are increasing in incidence as changing attitudes towards boy-girl relationship result from the declining influence of traditional social structures and from lack of knowledge of local contraceptive methods which used to be imparted during initiation sessions in Kilimanjaro and Sukumaland. Sexuality, which found expression in a wide range of relationships in the extended family, may find greater depth in the smaller and more intimate setting of the nuclear family.

7) Family planning

There is a discernible change in attitude towards family planning among certain groups. Parents of the older generation preferred large families for reasons previously examined and see no cause to limit births. But young and educated parents who are inclined towards smaller families tend to favour family planning. However they prefer, in addition to late marriages, the use of natural methods of birth planning such as safe-period and longer intervals between births. Most of them do not seem well-informed about modern methods of birth control and tend to be critical of them, citing harmful side-effects such as stomach aches and reduction in breast milk. The most widespread fear is that contraceptives will cause sterility.

Although on mainland Tanzania, family planning clinics (UMATI) operate at the village level and provide family planning services on payment of a nominal small fee, few people make use of them. The exception was Kilimanjaro where it was reported that young women, particularly those with some education and in employment, took advantage of the family planning services offered. In Sukumaland and among the Barbaigs social resistance to family planning appears to be so strong that even young parents who favour small families are shy of openly seeking information. In Zanzibar the sale of contraceptives in illegal. Only women who have had difficulties in child birth can obtain them through approved medical practitioners. Rejection of the use of contraceptives and prohibition of their sale in Zanzibar is due to the influence of the Islamic religion. Significantly women are less resistant than the men who fear that to use contraceptives is to commit a sin.

In Zanzibar an increasing number of young parents and teachers who are in favour of small families use the safe-period method of birth planning as their only practical option. They feel that custom, lack of education, and above all, religious sanctions stand in the way of legalizing the provision of the modern family planning services which they would support. Their attitudes are reflected in the words of a 31 year old Zanzibar teacher:

"I personally believe that this will be misconceiving the religion, because God teaches us that we should take good care of our dependants, and we should spend wisely. So if I restrict the number of my family in order to take good care of them with the income I get, I don't believe that I will be offending God. In other words I will be doing this for the good of my family, and we are told in the holy Koran that every creature is a shepherd and he will be asked about how he looked after his herd-members depending on him or under him."

SCHOOL AND ITS IMPACT ON POPULATION CONCEPTS

Socialization and the Aims of the School

The school – a western institution – has no parallel in terms of organization or objectives in the traditional systems of the four societal groups studied. As has been noted, traditional socialization, essentially ethnic-centred, is aimed at transmitting the knowledge and traditional norms and values that are intended to maintain the social relationships upon which a given group is founded, to promote the cohesiveness and welfare of the members of the clan or community, and to develop a sense of tribal loyalty. The skills imparted are those related to the traditional occupations of the parents and the clan. The school in independent Tanzania, on the other hand, is aimed at imparting knowledge and skills, conceived in a broad national framework, that promote new social relationships and economic structures conducive to the attainment of national development goals, develop cross-ethnic or national identity and foster among learners the ability to perform diverse activities and the motivation to participate in national development effort.

Education for Self-Reliance enjoins the inculcation of socialist values and a spirit of self-dependence among the learners. A common language of instruction, Kiswahili, uniform curricula and a nationally-recruited corps of teachers who do not necessarily belong to the same ethnic tribe as the pupils in a given school, distinguish the school from traditional socializing agents. Thus the aims of the school as a modern socializing agent differ from traditional socialization goals.

Perception of the role of the school and people's expectations from it do not necessarily correspond with its declared aims. Most people continue to associate schooling with wage employment, better income and social advancement and this view has been reinforced by the circumstances under which school was introduced and developed in Tanzania.

Development of School Education

When the school was introduced in the Tanzanian mainland in the late 19th century by a Colonial government which wanted local employees for low-level administrative posts, the chiefs were reluctant to send their children to school. Their attitudes changed when it was found that the Government accepted as candidates for chieftainships only those who had attended school and that employment brought reward. The Church also helped by rewarding attendance with gifts of food to parents or by baptising. Chiefs who had become Christians encouraged their subjects to follow this example.

In Zanzibar and Pemba, Muslim parents resisted sending their children to school for fear that they would be converted to Christianity. In time, however, education began to gain ground mainly as those who completed schooling were immediately employed as school teachers or clerks in government offices. Interest in education appears to have been due less to changing motivations than to new hopes and expectations related to paid employment and social advancement with which "western" education had come to be associated.

School attendance, low until independence, has increased rapidly, although it varies by regions. Growth has been relatively slow in the Barbaig region, while it has been most rapid and extensive in Kilimanjaro. The Musoma Resolution adopted en 1974, calling for the attainment of Universal Primary Education by 1977, gave further impetus to expansion ; nearly 93 per cent of the school population of Tanzania, aged 7 - 14 years and including overaged students were enrolled by 1978.

The school's Role in Secondary Socialization.

Most Tanzanian children from the age of 7 years are away from home much of the day and for those who attend boarding schools, for nearly 10 months of the year. In the Barbaig Division, most schools have boarding facilities. Organization of the domestic and productive activities of the families as well as of traditional education have been profoundly affected by the advent of regular schooling.

Where once child labour, starting from the age of 7 or 8 years for boys and girls alike, was an essential component of work, the basis for learning required skills, children now work only after school hours and during the holidays. Long absence from home and the lack of contact with the parents and elders limit opportunity for the child to learn family productive skills or to acquire the social norms and values of the tribe or ethnic group. The education of the child above 7 to 9 years takes place mainly in the school which has replaced the parents and community elders and, in varying degrees, the traditional "initiatory" systems. Thus the school now plays a preponderant role in the socialization process. The knowledge and skills acquired in the school tend to promote among school children a new outlook towards life manifested in attitudes, beliefs and expectations which differ from those of young people brought up a generation ago. Youth tend to disregard the traditional social relationships and related norms and values and often question their validity. Parents and teachers interviewed were unanimous in claiming that the school is mainly responsible for changes in the attitudes among school children although some believed that changes occurring in traditional tribal structures have something to do with it.

It is pertinent to examine in more detail the changes which parents perceive to be a consequence of schooling and which have far-reaching effects on child-parent and boy-girl relationships, on work and employment and thus on the life of the community.

1) Child-parent relationships

Traditionally, child-parent relationships were based on respect and obedience growing out of patriarchal authority and reinforced through the early education of the child. Children today are more likely to question the authority of parents ; and most parents and teachers in the study argue that children of school age are less disciplined than their counterparts of several years ago.

Parents also observe that children have become more confident and independent. They attribute this shift in attitude among children to two factors, additional to the effects to school, which are related to changes occurring in the community itself. First, whereas every elder in the clan or village had a duty to correct the behaviour of the child, in recent years this collective responsibility had been breaking down along with a decline in the influence of the extended family. Second, the presence of other ethnic groups in the villages and the spread of alien religions, principally Christianity and Islam, in Sukumaland, Kilimanjaro, and Parbaig regions have reduced ethnic cohesiveness and solidarity, thereby influencing the traditional attitudes and values of the tribe.

The parents generally are willing to send their children to school, appreciating that the school imparts knowledge and skills which are useful to the community and lead to wage employment. At the same time, most of them blame the school for encouraging children to "despise our traditions and imitate western modes of life" and insist that since children spend most of their time in schools, the school has the responsibility to inculcate discipline and good behaviour among them. A Barbaig parent expressed the common complaint that : "Your schools are making our children too free to argue with parents".

Some teachers and even parents do not accept that the school's influence is negative in this respect. They argue, on the other hand, that this has been a positive development in that it enables children to free themselves from the dominance of parents and elders and to adapt better to the changing socio-economic situation of Tanzania. A Zanzibari teacher claimed that some parents were unduly harsh and authoritarian to the extent that there was little communication between parents and child and that this limited learning.

Such conditions would preclude discussion of personal issues between parent and child or any creative debate. This lack of communication among generations is one of the issues which may create a gap between adults and youth, extended to other life issues and events and opposition on the part of the youth to traditional norms and values.

Parents tend to be more concerned about the education of girls on the ground that schooling affects their future role in society. Traditionally a girl was trained to be a wife and mother, while a boy was trained to be a leader of the family and of the group and to be a soldier. Most parents emphasize the need to maintain sex differentiation in the education of boys and girls. In the opinion of parents, schools disregard the differences in their potential roles in the society with adverse effect, especially on the attitudes and behaviour of the girls towards parents and elders, work and employment and towards boys and marriage. A Sukuma teacher noted that :

"Traditionally boys were regarded as superior. The girl had to kneel when greeting her brother regardless of age. This has changed. Bringing up of children is not very different now for both the sexes. All that is taught to a boy is taught to a girl".

In reaction many parents, particularly in Sukumaland and Barbaig are reluctant to send their daughters to school, although for different reasons. Sukuma parents consider that a school educated girl is not good either as a wife or a mother but good for wage employment only. Barbaig parents argue that educated girls tend to marry boys from other tribes and thus deprive them of "bridewealth".

It seems that attitudinal changes among school-educated girls is accompanied by an increasing tendency among them to seek wage employment or to marry outside the tribe and live away from home probably to escape parental criticism of their inability or unwillingness to adapt to the traditional way of life of the family or the tribe.

While changes in the attitudes and behaviour of girls and their diminishing value to the family as labour force or wealth are often resented by the parents, some young parents and teachers welcome it as a change in the right direction. A female teacher aged 25 expressing the view of educated women, noted that : "In the case of women, they have been very much disregarded, oppressed by men. They were thought to be weak, both mentally and physically. They have been treated as commodities and as flowers for the homes. That is why very few girls were allowed to go to school. Thanks to TANU and CCM we are now in good position. We can also lead the nation in many projects."

2) Boy-girl relationship

A related area of concern to parents is the change in attitude among young people towards boy-girl relationships. Sex-differentiation was marked in traditional society. Males and females had their own meeting places and leisure activities and did not mix freely. Some discreet sexual liberty between boys and girls was permitted among the Sukuma and certain sections of the Chagga in Kilimanjaro within an institutional framework but in all the four societies free mixing of boys and girls in front of the parents was "taboo".

The free mixing of boys and girls in school has been a source of resentment among parents who relate it to an increasing incidence of juvenile pregnancies outside wedlock as well as to increasing disregard for traditional norms related to nuptiality and marriage.

The problem of juvenile pregnancy appears to be posing a problem in certain areas of Kilimanjaro, Sukumaland and to some extent in Barbaig especially for schools near urban centres. It is not a problem in Zanzibar where Islamic religious education is provided in schools and children attend Koranic schools from an early age and continue to attend them in the evenings. An equally significant difference is that a girl in Zanzibar is legally allowed to marry while in school if the husband agrees she may continue her studies. Most parents and teachers favour this system.

On matters of nuptiality, the views of the teachers and adolescents are less rigid than those of parents. Teachers see education as an important preparation for marriage. Similarly, most adolescents prefer their future spouses to be employed and preferably also educated. They also wish to choose their own partners which does not necessarily create a problem among the Sukuma where parents do not force their children to marry some one they select, but may lead to conflict in other societies studied.

3) Work and employment

Schooling affects the views of adolescents towards work and employment. Adolescents, except to some extent the Barbaig, prefer to continue their studies or seek wage employment rather than to engage in family productive activities after completing primary education. This changing attitude among students also reflects to a large extent the changing economic situation and corresponds to the real hopes and expectations from school of the parents and community elders themselves. While the parents are dissatisfied and critical of the changing attitudes and social behaviour of their children and hold the school responsible for it, at the same time they regard the school as a means to wage employment and social advancement. Most parents are keen to send their children to school so that they may get well-paid jobs later. They are also often aware that more and better education is a prerequisite for national development.

Although parents' expectations from the school are the same in all areas, the degree of enthusiasm to send children to school varies according to the region. In Kilimanjaro, which has the longest history of formal schooling, the competition for school places is intense. This is one outcome of severe land shortage experienced in this area. As land per household cannot be further fragmented, only the youngest son remains on land; others have to seek residence and employment elsewhere. In Zanzibar the revolutionary changes have kindled a strong desire for education.

In Sukuma society children are seen as a resource and strongly counted upon for the future. Sending children to school is seen as an investment and invariably all parents expect their children to get wage employment after completing their education. Parents equating education with the quality of their lives, are often prepared to make great sacrifices in order to send their children to school. Those on good incomes make extra efforts to save in order to send their children to private secondary schools, if they cannot obtain places in the normal way.

To a Barbaig, however, the traditional way of living is still the most desired. Among them, education has not yet attained the importance as in other areas. Parents have to be persuaded to send their children to school and even when they do, their expectations differ from those of parents in other areas. For their children to learn Kiswahili, the medium of communication with the surrounding tribes and the outside world so that they can communicate with non-Barbaigs without fear of being cheated, is the main objective. Often parents withdraw their children from school when they can speak Kiswahili fluently. This attitude towards school is slowly changing; seeing educated Barbaigs as teachers, civils servants and policemen has provided an incentive to others to join school. In time this should overcome the reservations Barbaigs have against sending their girls to school for fear of losing bride price payments if they marry non-Barbaigs.

In recent years, the sensibilization programmes carried out by the national political party (TANU and now CCM) and other government agencies in favour of sending children to school have had an impact on some sections of the population who see education as being good in itself, for children, as well as for the nation. A parent in Zanzibar makes this point clearly :

"I believe when I bring my child to school it is not that he should learn just to get a good job. I know people who have not studied and yet are doing well for themselves without getting government jobs. But at the same time, if our children get education, they can lead the nation well when their time comes. They will be good leaders if they have education. They will be a great help to the nation".

It is pertinent to observe that in all the groups under study except the Barbaig, the attitude of parents towards the education of children and their future is based primarily on economic reasons and reflects the changing economic situation and the degree to which they have been able to adapt themselves to it. Those sections of the population who have benefitted or are likely to benefit from the general economic situation see in their children's education better employment opportunities assuring improved standards of living. Others who are unable to adapt to the changing situation and therefore have not gained much from it and whose traditional economic activities are barely sufficient for subsistence, tend to regard education as a way of escape from the uncertain economic situation of the family for the children who would otherwise constitute an additional charge rather than a source of additional income.

In reality, a very low proportion of young people completing primary education can obtain admission to secondary school or be absorbed by the wage-employment market which is still small in Tanzania. Thus most young people who do not complete primary education, or secure admission to secondary education and fail to find employment in urban centres, are obliged to stay and work in the villages where they have to follow parents' occupations, or secure wage employment which may be seasonal, or seek self-employment. It is foreseen that a large section of the young people will have to live and work in the rural areas.

When young people, unable to complete their education or to find suitable wage employment elsewhere, return to the village, they accept it as a sign of failure and feel a sense of frustration in terms of their expectations and aspirations. Implicit is the challenge to adjust education to a wide range of purposes and activities on the one hand; and on the other to concentrate on training for productive work. Development plans should give support to any initiatives which enable rural communities to absorb more educated manpower.

It will be an important function of school and out-of-school education to bridge differences in attitude between parents and community elders and the new generation who have had the advantage of education. The aim will be to harmonize the traditional way of life represented by the socio-economic and cultural practices in the rural areas with which the parents and elders are associated, and the modern, implicit in the expected socio-economic transformation with which the school is associated. These needs have been foreseen in "Education for Self-Reliance", which remains a primary source of guidance.

4) Impact on population concepts

It is clear that these attitudinal changes among the young and educated sections of the population have a bearing on the economic organization and social structure of the social groups, and thus can have a significant long-term impact on the population dynamics and the structure and distribution of population.

The noticeable preference among young and educated people for monogamous marriages and smaller families and the inclination to marry educated and employed spouses, if necessary outside the tribe or religion and to live away from their parents, is likely to accelerate the breaking down of the extended family system and decline in the patriarchal authority which is the foundation of traditional societal structures. Unwillingness of young people to adapt to the traditional occupations of the parents is likely to increase the incidence of out-migration in search of jobs in more populous centres, creating problems in urban as well as in rural development.

But from the standpoint of population education it is possible to take a positive view of these circumstances and to see promise in them for developments important to Tanzania. The varied perceptions and aspirations of individuals and groups within Tanzanian society, crudely classified as "traditional" and "modern", can give rise to the creative tensions that are needed to stimulate change and innovation. Out of this may emerge new concepts of change rooted in the realities of Tanzania's present progress and needs ; new dimensions in attitudes, in human relationships and of human resources management ; and other strategies for enhancing the productivity on which the socio-economic and cultural development of the nation and the quality of life of its people depend. One good reason for such optimism lies in the steady emancipation of women which the survey has revealed. It is in the opening up of the minds and capacities of women that the greatest potential for meeting the population and development needs of Tanzania may be found. The introduction of population education will ensure that this is taken into account.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATIONAL PLANNING AND TRAINING FOR POPULATION EDUCATION

IMPLICATIONS FOR POPULATION EDUCATION

The facts and findings of the socio-cultural survey make it abundantly clear that in every area of development planning, Tanzania is concerned with matters relating to population dynamics and events. At the macro-level where the national economy and the cultural integrity and welfare of the nation are involved, considerations of population size and composition, distribution and movement are inescapable. And at the micro-level, related to the population situation both as cause and effect, are on-going changes in community organization and systems of values, in family life structures and in the attitudes of parents and young people to these changes and to each other. It is in such a context that population education, with its extensions in family life and sex education, becomes most meaningful and relevant.

The evidence of the survey finds in favour of a population dimension in education at many points. It has been seen that socio-economic and environmental conditions and needs associated with high population density in certain regions, as in the upper and middle slopes of Kilimanjaro and in Zanzibar, offer a profitable point of entry for population studies. Even more pertinent in this respect is this respect is the mass migration and resettlement of people under the "villagisation" programme in support of which some aspects of "population education" at an informal level are already a reality. Moreover there has been implicit in many Government policies bearing on health education, employment and rural education, orientations which have a long-term impact on population dynamics, the need to foster knowledge and skills and the motivations which sharpen the perspective on population-development issues and speed up the action to meet them.

The breaking down of former political and social structures and the emergence of "new" attitudes towards family and life-cycle events, including education and employment, especially among a young and more educated section of the community which is questioning the validity of traditional norms and values, is shown by the survey to be setting the stage for complex tasks to which education must adapt and population education respond.

The results of the study and their analysis suggest a set of proposals which may give guidance in the further development of population education programmes in Tanzania. They will be valid and useful to the extent that they help to minimise constraints which may hinder action, and assist in exploring the possibilities for educational renovation in Tanzania in and through population, family life and sex education.

CIRCUMVENTING CONSTRAINTS

It is a sensible beginning to the planning of any programme to find out what may limit or hinder it and to look for a way around such constraints. It is important from the outset, of course, to see constraints as problems to be solved and not as reasons for inaction. To judge from the foregoing survey, the promoter of population education in Tanzania would be confronted by several conditions which can be identified as "constraints" ; they may equally be seen as reflecting the crucial needs which it is the function of population education to meet.

Changing Attitudes

Parents and elders in the United Republic of Tanzania have usually been found to be conservative in their views despite the climate for change which the Government has sought to create. Difficulties in the evolution of attitudes, especially when these are rooted in cultural traditions and reinforced through early education in the family and community, are to be expected. A further constraint on population education action is that these attitudes are to be respected for what they are worth even as steps are taken to change them. Inevitably there is some residue of truth in a system of beliefs that have been found serviceable over long periods of time : they must be reconciled with the need for change with which population education is concerned. It should be possible to demonstrate to elders that many reasons which they continue to offer in support of, for example, early marriage or large families, are rooted in circumstances which no longer exist. But traditional choices are likely to persist, as the survey shows, especially in the sensitive areas of family life relationships and sexuality. It will be recalled, for instance, that discussion of such topics between parents or elders and young people has been forbidden in all societies surveyed, and that traditionally the teaching of these matters was part of initiation rites and the privileged domain of certain specified family and community elders. Population education has special relevance because it touches those areas of life in which individual feelings are deepest and often most entrenched. The survey has indicated where some points of resistance are to be found in the attitudes of many elders in Tanzania. It would be important to identify these points more precisely wherever population education is introduced so as to work around and minimise such resistance rather than have it consolidate.

Accepting Educational Change

The forms of education and training which have been found to operate in the four societies have been designed to perpetuate life-styles and conditions rather than to change them. Because they have proved serviceable in the past in bringing young people to maturity both as regards working capability and behaviour in line with social norms, traditional ways of education will not be readily supplanted. The alternatives which are offered, especially in the first phase of development, because of many constraints, lack of trained teachers and other resources, often have not offered convincing proof of their value. As the survey has shown, many young people return from this educational experience with a sense of failure when unable to pass examination barriers, without skills that might be useful at village level and, in the opinion of elders and parents, with a disregard of traditional values.

When young people succeed in passing the requirements of an unduly formal educational system into gainful employment, a further constraint arises, for them and on the part of their parents and often their teachers, against acceptance of a more informal and creative form of education. It would be true for population education as for education in general that the changes which are envisaged have to be well understood and to be seen to be productive to gain widespread acceptance throughout Tanzania.

Understanding Population Education

Finally come the constraints inherent in the introduction of population education, as a relatively new element within the curriculum, at various levels. Some resistance would arise to population education simply because its goals and procedures are not known where-preliminary steps to build in the necessary concepts and understandings have been overlooked and inadequate or Population programmes that give undue prominence to sex education distort perceptions of the wider framework relating population and development needs within which human sexuality studies have a relatively small if significant place.

On the evidence available to this study, an earlier attempt to introduce certain aspects of population education had to be abandoned for the above reason, an outcome serious in itself and in compromising further developments in the same area. Such themes as parent responsibilities, and boy-girl, parent-child relationships were introduced in standard VI as part of a health education programme, supported by a booklet and radio-broadcasts, later withdrawn. Similarly it is reported that certain themes such as the responsibilities of husbands and wives, problems of private life of migrant workers and circumcision, which have been included under domestic science studies, are rejected by teachers as being too sensitive. It is clear that such studies cannot be properly represented or their prupose fully understood if they are dealt with out of the context of a coherent population education programme.

A further constraint is associated with the difficulties which are thought to be involved in integrating population education studies at school level. Unless teachers were helped to see how the curriculum could be organized to incorporate population education studies without adding to its bulk content, they might feel under threat and react accordingly.

CAPITALISING ON OPPORTUNITIES

If the survey has shown some potential difficulties, it also reveals many conditions favourable to the introduction of population education. These would need to be identified and turned to advantage. Where population action and education have begun with some success, there will be found some of the resources that make useful growing points for further implementation. To find what may favour population education it would be helpful to examine the general climate for change in Tanzania, to look at existing educational institutions and their on-going reforms ; and not the least to seek to find in traditional values and practices which the survey has revealed, the basis for bridge-building between old and new.

The climate for Change

The policy of "education for self-reliance" adopted in 1967 within the framework of the Arusha Declaration set the stage for educational change. It called for the radical reform of curriculum content and of the methods of the educational system and gave priority to the development of primary education complete in itself; to adult education, to the integration of school and community at local level, and to popular participation in education as the prime force in national development. Particular stress was placed on the provision of knowledge, skills and values which respond to the development needs of the community. The policy statement on "Education for Self-Reliance" not only gives a clear brief for change in education to the public at large but it reminds educators of their key strategy, that of providing for full participation by the learner, and it points a way to the selection of performance objectives and of content :

"We should determine the type of things taught in the primary schools by the things which the boy or girl ought to know – that is, the skills (.........) to acquire and the values (......) to cherish if he or she is to live happily and well in a socialist and predominantly rural society and to contribute to the improvement of life there". (1)

The principle of "equality and respect for human dignity" which this document expresses lies at the basis of sound judgment in many population-related decisions. And since "it is no use our educational system stressing values and knowledge appropriate to the past or to the citizens of other countries", there must be new emphases and herein lies the task and the opportunity for population education.

---

(1) Nyerere, Julius K. *Education for Self-Reliance, op. cit.*

The Growth of Awareness

In keeping with the climate for change is an awareness of the significance of population circumstances and events in Tanzania that has grown steadily although uneven in its distribution among individuals and groups in the community. The survey testifies to these new perceptions and attitudes. For instance, many parents in Zanzibar and Kilimanjaro know of the population increases in their areas, perceiving this change in terms of the problems arising from it, the shortage of land for cultivation, reducing food production and in some cases obliging them to migrate in search of fertile land or wage employment.

At the same time the reasons for population increase are becoming better known. Respondents to the survey in the same regions claimed that more children being born in clinics improves their health and that of mothers thereby combining with other factors such as fewer epidemics to reduce infant mortality. Similarly the redistribution of population and some of the consequences were understood by respondents involved in the village resettlement schemes. It was observed by teachers interviewed that despite this general awareness most of these same people would lack the knowledge and skills needed to relate the changes they observed to development at regional or national levels or to take the informal decisions which might modify population events.

A favourable condition for promoting population education which the survey confirmed is that teachers as a group were better able to relate population growth or distribution to its effect on availability of resources and its impact on the living standards of people and on the progress of development plans. Even among teachers, however, viewpoints were quite widely divergent between those who argued in favour of educating people about the causes of population change and effects on the quality of life and development so that they might be able to take appropriate action ; and some others who felt that problems at local or regional levels arising from the population situation could be as well resolved by appropriate mobilisation of resources and development action. Both viewpoints reflect appreciations of the population-development nexus that might usefully be brought together in framing population education programmes.

There was some encouraging evidence of the in-depth thinking that is needed for teaching success in more controversial areas. Opposition to the introduction of sexuality-related topics in schools was by no means unanimous and was often made conditional upon teacher training and experience, or being taught separately to boys and girls, or being introduced in the last two or three years of primary education, or integrated within such subjects as health science and religious studies so that in the latter case those themes could be discussed in relation to the norms and values of the society. Such qualifying observations are signs of enlightenment which augur well for the introduction of carefully balanced programmes of population, family life and sex education.

Finally it should be noted that almost all students in all societies were in favour of bringing in population education especially those aspects bearing on matters of family life and personal life-styles. Being able to count on the support of students in mounting and gaining wider approval for such programmes would be to this extend assured.

Supporting Traditions

The survey shows that "old" beliefs and practices are sometimes in harmony with new aspirations and may therefore provide useful points of departure in devising learning experiences in population education. For instance some concern for the spacing of children was evidenced in Sukumaland and Kilimanjaro. Instruction in social customs relating to marriage and family and matters of sexuality was customary in Zanzibar and in Sukumaland. With the Barbaigs the youth organizations provided an opportunity for discussion of a wide range of questions relating to the welfare of the society ; and the Basumba societies of Sukumaland were a forum for dialogue and decision-making on community matters.

The rights of women, an important theme in population education, may have been limited in traditional societies but among the Barbaig they could be defended in a "women's neighbourhood council". Innovations in education or development would get off to a better start where they were shown to have such antecedents.

SUPPORT FROM EXISTING PROGRAMMES AND INSTITUTIONS

A more substantial base for population education, however, is to be found in the institutions and programmes associated with advances in education, health and social welfare services which have grown up since independence. Population education is to be seen as an extension of these efforts, to be grafted on at the strongest points of growth which are here examined.

The Primary School

The initiatives taken since 1967 to develop primary education have followed several avenues of approach including : the reform of the primary school curriculum and methods in the framework of the community school ; involvement of Teachers' Colleges in the re-orientation and training of teachers ; decentralisation of planning and administration of education ; provision for "change-agents" at each stage.

Curriculum reform initiatives (1) led, for example, to an innovative experiment on integrating school and community within the framework of a pilot project at Kwamsisi village. The school caters for the educational needs of both children and of the adults who share the facilities and have joint study tours with the children. Members of school and community participate in the planning and implementation of the activities of both.

Curriculum content focussing on the development needs and priorities of the community covers four main areas :

(1) Initiated in 1970 under the Unicef-Unesco Primary Education Reform Project.

literacy and numeracy as offered in the traditional primary schools ; *political education* which emphasizes relationships with and obligations to family, village and society from a socialist point of view as well as structure, functions and working of the party and the Governement ; *self-help and cultural activities* with stress on pupil participation in the organization and maintenance of the school and the development activities of the villages ; *community studies* including subjects like health education, science, geography, history and vocational subjects which are intended to develop skills for tackling problems in the local environment.

This type of community school, after considerable trial and development of the curriculum is now in operation in some 35 villages. It is intended by the Government as the model for future development, the replacement of traditional primary schools to begin in two regions through 1980-81. It is within this type of programme that the main stream of population education would eventually have to be integrated : at this early stage of curriculum development the opportunities to do so would be promising.

At the present time in Tanzania primary education, free and compulsory, is terminal for more than 93 per cent of school children. The minimum age of entry to primary school is 7 years. Many children actually enrol between the ages of 8 and 10 years and most of them complete primary education when 14 to 17 years of age. Given the restricted intake at the secondary level, most primary school leavers enter the world of work thereafter, the more fortunate in paid employment. The implications for the introduction of population education are clear : for all but a few children other opportunities for these studies would continue to be limited.

Secondary Schools

In 1978, only 4.6 per cent of primary school leavers were selected for Form I of the public secondary schools, a reduction from 11. 8 per cent in 1970. Education at this level is deemed a privilege, bearing responsibilities for service to the community. Under the Musoma Directive of 1974 it is strongly oriented towards meeting high-level manpower requirements of Tanzania and secondary schools are organized to have an agricultural, technical, commercial and domestic science bias.

Although the secondary school group is small and its study commitments heavy, its significance for the development of population education in Tanzania is not to be overlooked. As future leaders these students will inevitably be concerned with population considerations and decisions. In developing programmes at this level, it should be taken into account that a certain proportion of the students will later be working as primary school teachers and thus may well be involved in teaching population education. An opportunity for new dimensions of inquiry and creative thinking about population-related matters should be found in the secondary schools.

Adult Education

Adult education has been given priority in Tanzanian development strategy. It is seen as an instrument of socialist change and as a means to meaningful participation of adults in the development effort. It has been said that although adult education is not statutory, its social acceptance through political mobilisation is so effective that it is more or less part and parcel of the Tanzanian way of life.

The Institute of Adult Education is continuing efforts to expand and maintain literacy, extending its services into the villages, through seminars and distance education and mass campaigns such as "Man is Health" and "Food is Life" is promoting non-formal activities within the education system. The aim of adult education is that people should be able to take part fully in programmes that concern their lives and those of their children. Adult education is thus aimed not only at literacy but also at imparting knoweldge and skills necessary for improving living and production conditions within the framework of rural collectivization. Introduction of population education content into educational programmes covering the entire adult population including some 98,000 teachers, gives opportunity to make a far-reaching impact on their perceptions of population needs and their capacity to resolve them.

As a second and and even more important outcome, the adults of Tanzania should be better disposed to support population in the schools and equipped to take a lead in bringing children and parents and other elders together in more positive communication and action.

Of special interest in this connection are the Folk Development Colleges which provide post-literacy training for newly literate adults with a view to improving productivity and living standards. The subjects taught include domestic economy, hygiene and nutrition, and political orientation as well as topics which relate to improvement of productive activities such as agriculture, livestock farming and basic crafts. These themes and the general orientation of courses would be appropriate for the introduction of population education components.

Training Institutions and Programmes

Over 300 institutions operated by Ministries of Health, Agriculture, Labour and Education are providing training programmes for various categories of village-level development workers, in village management, health, nutrition, agricultural extensions and educational development. Nor should the training in Party Colleges for party officials be overlooked in this regard.

Here the concern should be with one category of persons who can be called "change agents" or leaders in change. There are many others. Ministry of Education officials participate as change agents in educational reform by injecting new ideas and suggestions and providing technical assistance and support. Educational officers at regional, district and village levels are also assigned this role for planning educational developments. So too the village management technicians, the village managers and the extension agents in health and agriculture and so on. It is in the training of these influential agents that great opportunities for furthering population education reside.

Where relevant content bearing on the relationship of population dynamics and socio-economic development could be introduced into training programmes, they might become more aware of their part in population education and how to play it.

Teacher education institutions and their programmes assume great importance in promoting population education. For it is through teacher educators and teachers that a *multiplier effect,* reaching out to countless students and their parents, may be achieved.

From the beginning Teachers' Colleges have been associated with the development of the community schools on which primary education in Tanzania is to be patterned and through which population precepts are to be disseminated. The insights of teacher educators and the programmes that they mount are of paramount importance to population education in Tanzania. The high priority accorded teacher education and retraining has opened the way for more than 15,000 primary school teachers to take part in the re-orientation course on the new curriculum up to 1978.

Forums for Educational Reform

Since April 1967, when an Ad-hoc Conference on Education for Self-Reliance was convened at the University of Dar-es-Salaam and attended by all Regional Education Officers, heads of Secondary Schools, principals of Teachers' Colleges, and Ministry officials, various seminars and workshops for such leaders to consider the strategies and mechanism for implementing educational reforms have been organized. The opportunity exists for population education to be promoted in this way.

The institutional structures introduced under the 1972 *Decentralization of Government Adinistration Act* and the 1975 *Village Act* offer further possibilities for *community participation in the development of education* in accordance with local and sub-regional needs. This administrative framework and the various development committees within it can provide for discussion and positive decision-making in support of population education. Similarly the participation of teachers, parents and pupils could be encouraged through their representatives on the Education for Self-Reliance Commitees of the schools.

STRATEGIES FOR PROMOTING POPULATION EDUCATION IN THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

The general picture which has been presented on the basis of the survey is one of relatively few constraints and considerable support and opportunity for the advance of population education in Tanzania. It has been important to examine the existing provisions and on-going reforms of the education system at its various levels, in school and out, formal and non-formal, so as to appraise the settings, the style of programmes, their content and teaching-learning approaches which might be best suited to each group of learners should a population programme be developed.

The evidence suggests that a useful overall strategy with the best population education outcomes in view, might be to focus planning activities on the development of curricula in primary schools, on adult education and post-literacy programmes and on the training exercises intended for various "change agents". Programmes envisaged for secondary and higher levels of the formal system would then be seen as a continuation or further elaboration of themes provided for at primary level.

To have hope of success it would be necessary to select and refine the strategies which support this general plan. The following proposals, while tentative, are intended to make a start on this and by the way in which they are ordered to suggest the sequencing of actions and events which might be considered best for achieving population education goals in Tanzania.

Defining Population Education

A crucial first step would be to clarify the concept and scope of population education in the Tanzanian context. Population dynamics cover a complex system of forces acting on and being moved by human behaviour and events : the ramifications of population education are equally complex. But they can and must be conceived in simple terms if brought within the concrete frame of reference of Tanzania - its people, as they live, work, move and interact and hope ; its other ressources, to be developed by and for people ; and these in relation to national policies and plans and to community projects and programmes and the aspirations for a better life which they reflect. What has to be illumined is that by the nature of its concerns population education deals directly with the most urgent and personal needs of people and with the problem of productivity in relation to a good life for all ; also that by the manner of its approach to learning, through participation and decision-making, it is closely aligned with movements for educational reform in Tanzania and would be well-placed to give impetus to them.

The scope and meaning of population education has been carefully delineated (1) in many texts : for Tanzania, it remains to express this clearly by concrete reference and in the local idiom. Properly conceived, population education should enable local learners *inter alia* to think out the reasons for the movement of people under the village resettlement schemes ; to consider what it may mean for the people concerned and for the nation, and to act intelligently to resolve the needs which may arise ; to see clearly that there are changes going on in attitudes and behaviours and in local customs and beliefs and how these in turn are changing socio-sexual relationships and views about family life issues ; to come to reasonable decisions about the best qualities and conditions of family and social life in their community ; and to take part on a well-informed basis in making proposals and taking actions that will improve their daily lives, either immediately and in the local environment, or indirectly through community and national forums.

---

(1) Unesco, *Population Education : a contemporary concern. op. cit.*

Leadership Training

The key to achieving a multiplier effect in mouting a population education programme would lie in the training of those persons who might be most actively concerned in planning it, securing approval for it, training others to give it effect, and for its evaluation. This would involve using the organization which already exists to conduct workshops which train leaders while utilizing them to develop the plans and materials by means of which the action can be broadened. Thus it could be expected that the first workshop would produce "guidelines" covering the essential meaning and tasks of population education, and a "blueprint" for the development of a national programme. There are ample precedents (1) for this approach.

It has already been stated that teacher educators should be counted high among those who give a lead in population education because of the level of insight and skill that can be expected of them. The same may be said of Education Officers. But leadership training in the first instance should extend to the first line of "change agents" in all agencies having to do with health, education, employment, social welfare and especially socio-economic planning and development. It would be reasonable to look to the University for initiatives in setting up leadership training workshops.

Integrating Population Content

A basic decision that would have to be made is how population content could be integrated within the curriculum at any level. Simply adding more content to already overloaded curricula is likely to be a self-defeating strategy ; better options have to be found for Tanzania.

The survey pointed to the last two or three grade levels of primary education (Standards V, VI and VII) as optimal points of entry for population education. It was seen that the choice for introducing population education into the school curriculum would be among several options - a separate course, a separate unit of a given course, integration into a given subject or a combination of these approaches, all of which population education planners in Tanzania would have to examine.

As a *separate course* population education would become one of many "subjects" taught at one or more grade levels. This approach opens up possibilities for systematic and sustained treatment of population themes. It could be appropriate for institutions of higher education where separate courses on diferent aspects of population and education may be offered. But it moves against a trend towards the integration of studies and might exclude the interest of teachers not engaged to teach it. A variation of this approach in the form of a series of "mini-courses" on specific themes given regularly at several grade levels might have merit for Tanzania, especially for treating sensitive issues relating to sexuality and sex roles at upper primary level. It will be recalled that parents expressed a strong preference for such topics to be taught to boys and girls separately (Kilimanjaro) and by teachers of religion (Zanzibar).

The "mini-course" approach would permit careful preparation, taking into account the sensitivities of the community concerned, and also provide for separate teaching of boys and girls by experienced teachers or local professionals. This approach would not be new in Tanzania in that local talents are already being utilized for teaching agricultural skills and crafts.

An *"integrated" approach* would mean readapting the syllabus of selected subjects by incorporating appropriate content relating to population and to the objectives of the subject concerned. For example *mathematics* could be used to demonstrate simple calculations in the quantitative analysis of population trends without expanding its curriculum. If the spatial distribution of population migration and the consequences of population growth were to be built in to *geography*, this would extend the syllabus or replace a lees relevant theme. *Health education* and *physical education* offer opportunity to introduce concepts of nutrition and balanced diet, mother and child care, productivity and life expectation. *Domestic science* offers knowledge of nutrition and practice in the hygienic preparation of balanced foods, balancing the family budget, in mother and child care and so on. Concepts relating to the equilibrium of the eco-system, optimum population and responsible use of resources could be introduced in *natural sciences*. Human physiology, reproduction and sexuality are a natural part of *biology*. *Political science* can most aptly introduce components relating to population dynamics, resources, and socio-economic development of the community and the country.

Different aspects of the same theme may be examined in different subjects and thereby meanings reinforced : biology, health education, domestic science, moral and religious education, each has a special focus on population, family life and human sexuality issues.

This approach would seem to present several advantages. It could help widen the scope of a given subject and at the same time broaden a teacher's knowledge and perception of its possibilities and of its relation to other fields. The student might begin to comprehend the inter-relationships that link different disciplines and be more disposed to lateral thinking in seeking the solution of problems. With injection of population content each subject would become more relevant in terms of meeting the needs and expectations of the community, an important contribution to the renovation of education.

The integrated approach would seem well suited to introducing population content on a trial basis into the new curricula being tried out in the 35 village community schools and scheduled for extension to other areas. The fact that Teachers' Colleges are associated closely with these schools could help to ensure that the approach is well conceived and carefully evaluated.

Integrating population education within the *teacher education curriculum* would be a necessary first step. It is to be expected that teacher educators, as one aspect of the leadership training phase, would have examined the options and developed suitable models for this purpose. This exercise could have important implications for movement in teacher education in Tanzania towards more rigorous selection of relevant content, the development of interdisciplinary studies and the systematic building of curriculum materials. Trends in teacher education towards a thematic rather than a subject-oriented approach would seem to favour the development of population education units of work, some of which might be within the framework of the various disciplines, others, dealing with the wider population issues on a multi – or inter-disciplinary basis.

---

(1) See for example Unesco, *Study of the Contribution of Population Education to Educational Renewal and Innovation in El Salvador, the Republic of Korea, Philippines and Tunisia*, Paris, 1980.

New Approaches to Learning and Teaching

Promoting population education in Tanzania would mean exploring new ways of stimulating learning and organizing for teaching.The "founding" literature of independent Tanzania emphasized the concept of self-reliance as an educational goal and called for more systematic contriving of experiences linking education and productive work. It is appropriate therefore that population education should not only bring novel content to education but should demonstrate the principle of learning-by-doing to best effect and the value of a systems approach to learning and teaching.

In pratice, this would mean building population education experiences around three essentiel elements : the *objectives* of learning ; the *activities* by means of which these outcomes might be achieved ; and the *evaluation* measures which would show the learner and the teacher what progress had been made. It would be especially important to express population objectives in *performance* terms, that is, what the learner is *able to do* as a result of any learning and of the programme as a whole. Only on this basis could curricula (learning experiences) in population education be systematically developed and their pratical outcomes measured. The activities selected would need to be closely related to learner interest and to real population needs, some of which were emphasized by the present case study. They would involve the learner in problem-solving and in the production of creative solutions in the form of new ideas, plans, proposals, blueprints for action, decisions or more concrete forms of goods and services. Further, they would engage the learner in teamwork. By such strategies population education could give a lead in learning efficiency and pratical meaning to the concept of participatory learning.

Production of learning "Units"

In the development of population education in Tanzania all other strategies, it seems, should lead to the *production of curriculum materials*. Models and syllabi, the findings of studies and the many planning decisions that are made would somehow have to be translated into well-defined and stimulating experiences in and through which learners at different levels could come to understand the demographic situation in which they live and how they might adjust it or adapt to it, according to their own decisions and in the national interest. However population content was to be integrated into the curriculum, learning "units" or "sub-units" built around selected themes would be the main means of doing so.

The "unit" approach would enable progressions of population education experience to be built with provision for group and individual differences, for reinforcement and feedback. In the beginning the themes of *basic units* for each level would have to be decided, preferably few in number : later extension or *enrichment units* could be added.

The development of a *basic model* for the presentation of learning units, incorporating objectives, activities and evaluation elements, would be a valuable part of the output from leadership training workshops, giving a distinctive form to population education materials, demonstrating professional competence, and offering a sound model for curriculum-building in other areas.

This study has shown that population education in Tanzania would continue to have a complex background with diverse circumstances and divergent views to be accommodated. The *combined experiences* of leaders and the best practitioners, in teacher education and in teaching as well as from other agencies, would seem to be needed in the task of building population education materials rather than leaving this to population or curriculum "specialists". Today strong arguments favour the *fusing of teacher education and curriculum development,* acknowledging that building learning experiences is the way teachers and teacher educators become professionals in the true sense, that they provide the only source of "manpower" adequate to the task of curriculum-building, and that they will, in any event, be responsible for teaching or supervision of the unit materials that are produced.

Should this be seen as true for Tanzania, a key strategy for promoting population education would be to bring together selected personnel in a series of *learning-production workshops* to create basic units, and thereafter to engage teachers as fully as possible as part of their pre-service and in-service training in the further development, application and trial of these materials. It has been seen that some of the machinery for organizing this effort already exists.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

SUMMARY

This study first presents a picture of the United Republic of Tanzania – the country, its past, its people and their culture – together with a brief overview of the conditions and policies which govern socio-economic planning and developments in education, including their population aspects. It goes on to describe the socio-cultural study undertaken in the four regions in Tanzania and its findings relating to their socio-economic circumstances, kinship and productive systems, and socio-political organization.

In some detail it investigates the traditional process of socialization as manifest in the four regions and in its bearing on population-related norms and values ; then considers socialization by the school in a similar frame of reference. Against this background it considers implications for population education planning and development within the education system of Tanzania and translates these into a series of general proposals which could be considered for promoting and integrating these studies into the curricula at various levels.

CONCLUSIONS

Population size, composition, movement and distribution are factors inescapably linked, both as cause and effect, with socio-cultural change in Tanzania, with the future of its economy and the welfare of its people. To this extent the relevance of population education as a component of learning experiences both within the formal system and out-of-school is established.

Beyond this, there would appear to be little general awareness of the potential of population education as a response to population problems and needs in Tanzania ; it would have to be seen in action to be believed or assigned a true value. To many teachers, too, the nature and scope of population education, how it might be brought into the curriculum and with what salutary effect, seem likely to be obscure. On the evidence, however, there would be few constraints to the introduction of population education and many conditions which would favour it. The purposes of population education are in keeping with development objectives ; its content can be identified with many existing demographic situations and needs in Tanzania, and its methods are likely to be strongly in support of the concepts of self-reliance and of participation which are guiding precepts for Tanzanian education.

It can be concluded that, because of the advances which have already been made towards the reform of the educational system in Tanzania, with considerable emphasis on the up-dating and relevance of curriculum content, the stage is set for the planned introduction of population education as a complement to these efforts.

Moreover, the points of entry and integration seem well-defined. Such measures as the development of a population education component within the framework of the innovative and expanding community schools should gain strong support as a means of enriching content and refining approaches to learning in the primary sector. The association of Teachers' Colleges with the community schools attaches greater merit to this proposal since it offers possibilities for the upgrading of teacher education practices and of school learning materials at one and the same time. The personnel of Teachers' Colleges and other "change agents" who might be involved in this experiment could later serve as a "resource pool" for subsequent development and extension of population education programmes in community schools as they extend throughout the country, the means to an important multiplier effect.

Equally promising is the chance for parallel developments of population education within an existing framework for almost universal adult education. Although primary and adult education studies will not be indentical, they would converge on population and development issues of concern to young and old, bringing opportunities to collaborate and build bridges of mutual understanding and support across the existing generation gap.

The decentralized village government structures could provide a popular forum in favour of population education and in turn help to revitalize planning and development committees to the extent that they offer incentives for people's participation in development activities.

It has to be concluded that the success of population education activities in Tanzania would depend on a number of the factors, which must be identified with good management of any enterprise. First is the *quality of leadership* and therefore of leadership training.The second is *clear communication*, especially important in giving meaning to population dynamics, so close to home but so far-reaching, and to population education, the impact of which would be lost were it is not reduced to simple terms and related directly to the most pratical objectives and needs. Both the langage and the means of communication would need to be carefully formulated so that the approach to population education in Tanzania was concentrated upon the same objectives and drewn on the same set of facts, clearly understood.

The need for *collaboration* is also apparent. Population education is a multi-disciplinary exercise which calls for *teamwork*. The machinery for coordination among the various departments and agencies involved in development in Tanzania already exists, but might have to be upgraded to accommodate the concerns of population education, the restructuring of curricula and the special efforts that are needed to produce learning materials in this field.

If population education were to contribute to the renewal of education in Tanzania, it would not be by content alone but just as much through a consistently applied *set of strategies* which made learning meaningful and efficient.

In this regard the presentation of learning experiences in population education in a form that is educationally sound and stimulating must be an objective. There are useful precedents to follow in this, but educators in Tanzania would need to build curriculum materials to their own model, when this had been defined.

Population education is one of many educational programmes but so closely linked with others where they touch on the concerns of national development or the skills needed to sustain it as to have a place in the curriculum at its various levels. It is as a complement to other disciplines and as a catalyst among them, which could help to focus education on the people of Tanzania and the contribution which they can make to their own well-being and to the quality of life of the nation that population education could have special merit.

EVALUATION OF THE SOCIO-CULTURAL STUDIES AND CONCLUSION

Between the initial conception of the overall project and its implementation in the four countries, each presenting a different situation, one met with the gap that usually separates a general hypothesis from the socio-cultural reality to which it is applied. This difficult transition from the world of ideas to that of facts abounds in lessons that must be learnt if we are to find answers to the questions raised at the outset : *how can the analysis of socio-cultural situations in different contexts be utilized in drawing up population education strategies and practices ?* Each particulier procedure used in the case studies was designed to obtain responses to these questions in relation to its own specific situation. In this chapter on conclusion, we shall attempt to present a brief comparative review of the results with a view to *draw from this analysis some ideas and suggestions of a much wider scope.* From this point of view therefore, we shall deal in turn with the interpretation of the socio-cultural analyses in terms of development dynamics and their relations with population issues, with the population education strategies that can be inferred from them and finally with the operational processes through which they could be effectively implemented. It goes without saying that this interpretation needs to be adapted to suit the limitations and shortcomings of the material on which they are based. In this sense, the present social analysis can be said to be still in its pioneering, ground-clearing stage. It needs to be followed up by in-depth studies, and evaluations based on actual experience, and, therefore, the conclusions put forward here are open to adjustment and modification.

I. EVALUATION OF THE SOCIO-CULTURAL ANALYSES – DEVELOPMENT DYNAMICS AND POPULATION DYNAMICS

a) Before making an evaluation of the situations that have been analysed, we should briefly go over *the methodological hypotheses and compare them with the actual application* in each study.

Generally speaking, it was possible to keep to the major focus of the research, but this was at the cost of a certain number of adjustments in the methodological applications.

The choice of samples raised problems of unequal difficulty in the four countries. The most straightforward case was definitely that of *Rwanda*, where the high degree of cultural homogeneity, the as yet little developed social differentiation and the relatively small size of the country made it possible to select a reliable sample without much hesitation. The five rural and two urban communes are sufficiently representative to enable the development of population education programmes for nation-wide application without too much risk of misjudgement.

The *United Republic of Tanzania*, covering a larger area, presents the case where four quite dissimilar areas were selected which nevertheless probably represent the most prominent features of the Tanzanian socio-cultural system. They could provide the basis for country-wide action, since they supply the necessary indications for regional variations and adjustments, in the line with the very spirit of the decentralized educational policy and the importance placed on "self-reliance".

Morocco posed a more complex problem. The study team chose to work on two socially very re[illegible]cted samples from the rural world : the plains, with modern commercial agriculture in an Arab cultural context, on the one hand ; and the mountains, with an agro-pastoral socio-economic system tied to the Berber world, on the other hand. The results suggest that the major trends revealed by the inquiry may be applicable to certain characteristics noticeable on a wider scale. Nevertheless, a number of the observations need to be cross-checked with other research parameters. The urban inquiry, conducted in a poor outlying suburb of Rabat, clearly brings out structures that are full of significance. It is only to be hoped that cross-checking would be done with reference to other urban areas, particularly Casablanca, which is of special interest in the Moroccan social scene. The inquiry target groups also fail to underline the contrast between northern and southern Morocco. From a methodological application point of view, nevertheless, the team made the most of the samples they had selected.

Peru represents an extreme case of choice of method, totally different from that of Rwanda : in-depth study of a micro-region, in a country whose population exceeds 17 millions and which covers a total area of 1,285,000km^2. This choice is justified on the grounds that the Peruvian coastline has attracted almost all the poles of modernization and the populations of the high and middle mountains of the interior are drained down to each of them in a migratory flow which cuts Peruvian society into parallel strips running down the valleys which descend from the Andes to the Pacific. As a result, the structure of the micro-region apear to be higly representative of a major part of Peruvian geography and society, with the exception of the Selva, an area of Amazon forest on the east-facing slopes of the Cordillera.

These highly varied sampling strategies – all on the whole perfectly convincing – are interesting in several respects, especially as a basis for an initial analysis for setting out educational strategies, taking into account the complexity and diversity of the socio-cultural structure of each nation.

As regards the application of *investigation techniques* considerable differences are also noticable in the choices made by the various teams. The Rwandese and Tanzanian operators adhered closely to the methodological hypotheses put forward in the research outline both for the compilation of the dossier and the designing of the interview guides. It can therefore be stated that under certain conditions these working aids proved themselves to be operational. Conversely, whilst respecting the general spirit of the study, the Moroccan team had to face, particularly in El Gharb, a singularly contentious rural population which radically modified the proposed methods, by taking over a certain responsibility for the inquiry themselves and orienting the work of the researchers. This phenomenon seems not to have been so marked in the urban environment. It must be acknowledged that this new participatory methodology presented an advantage by making it possible to take the analysis further, but it does make it more difficult to justify the representativity of the recorded information and reactions. The inquiry material obtained is more valuable, but its exploitation will be more complex.

In Peru, the methodological application took an entirely new turn in that the study took place as part of an overall research programme conducted by the Peruvian Institute of Studies on the history of the country's social changes and thus benefitted considerably from the wealth of information obtained in this context. On the other hand, the same factor led to placing greater emphasis on social and socio-economic aspects and giving only a small place for purely cultural aspects (particularly, it is difficult to assess the role of the substrate of Indian culture that has survived or died out during the profound social changes).

As concerns the *organization and synthesis of the results by country*, the reports returned by the operators to the Population Education Section of Unesco did not quite conform to the work plan proposed for the purposes of the general synthesis. *Each of the reports included voluminous and valuable information* and data on the socio-cultural situations. Hovewer in most cases, the educational implications were only partially dealt with. As a result, the Section, with the assistance of consultants, had to compile the educational issues and analyses contained throughout the studies and expand upon it, filling a certain number of gaps so as to place the work within the pre-dominant perspective of population education. The task was not an easy one, but the difficulties that had to be overcome are themselves indicative of the nature of innovative work and open-mindedness that has to be practised in this new area of education in order to endow it with its full importance. Lastly, mention must be made of the editorial constraints that have forced the Section to cut down by at least a third the syntheses initially received. Every been effort has been made, in so doing, to include the essential material from the dossiers which were all of great value. In all events, the full reports are available to the educational authorities which may have the charge of preparing a population education programme in each country.

b) This review of methodological applications gives a first indication of a number of major points reflecting *similarities and differences in the approaches to population questions and to development dynamics.* We shall now make a more systematic identification of the most significant points as they are revealed in the various studies.

Firstly, the socio-cultural transition problems arising from the demographic transition seem to be the most important feature of each of the societies studied. In each case, history shows that in the more or less distant past there existed a traditional society which had nothing in common, at the time, with western culture.

In Peru, up until the Spanish conquest in the 16th century, the Inca Empire presented the image of a system where the State machinery was closely co-ordinated with the peasant communities and the mutual support existing between these communities was highly developed. The socialization of the individual within the framework of the patriarchal family tended to integrate him very deeply into the working of the community where teamwork was a key feature.

In Morocco, two types of traditional society were to be seen : the more ancient Berber model, centred round the extended family unit and divided into tribes whose social life was regulated by the transhumance movements of this pastoral nomadic people ; and the Arab model which came in the wake of the conquering advance of Islam in the 8th century, and brought with it the theocratic forms of State organization.

In Rwanda and in the United Republic of Tanzania, both countries forming part of the Bantu land of East Africa, the world of agriculturalist lives in constant contact with the great Hamitic, cattle-rearing nomads. These nomads, in the geographical area of the Tanzania of the future, were seen as war-mongering neighbours by the Bantu peasants, whereas in Rwanda they became the overlords in a new kind of feudal system where livestock took the place of fiefdom.

These traditional socio-cultural systems existing before the western invasion, despite major historical divergences, displayed a number of similarities as regards the key role of the extended family in the life of individuals and society. The family was the basic societal unit and the key framework for the socialization of both men and women. The family had the sole responsibility for the transmission of sexual identity, and was in charge of the relationships between the sexes through which the group's fertility was transmitted. The productive system was itself part of the extended family which constituted the dominant institution in a self-sustaining economy. Although the basic societal unit thus described maintained relations with the State machinery, this system of relationships did not do away with the productive relationships which were based on the kinship structure and the principle of self-sufficiency. The State took away a part of the surplus without, however, transforming the basic structure.

In this cultural setting, the social division of labour between the sexes was pronounced, and women were subjected to male domination, although they were not totally divested of other forms of power. The sexuality of women, closely related to the group's fertility, was firmly controlled by the men and was often ritualized in religious practices.

Education, the faithful reproducer of these social relationships, was given mainly within the family framework, and in certain instances it was also provided by the peer groups, which were none other than inter-family institutions. The education given was heavily sex-biased.

All learning connected with population questions occured within this framework, and in an highly integrated environment where economic life was inseparable from family life, just as much as individual life was inseparable from community life.

In a world such as this, a major part of the education was provided through implicit procedures : knowledge and skills were acquired through observation and example. When the student acquired a useful skill corresponding to his/her social status, he/she put it into practice immediately. Social life was practical and participatory.

The social entities studied have one thing in common, in that they have all experienced colonization. The Spanish in 16th century Peru destroyed the Inca State and set themselves up in its place. Colonization was primarily agrarian. A white, land-owing aristocracy took possession of the best lands and confined the Indians to the infertile mountain areas. Superficial conversion to Christianity led to a first phase of acculturation, where the various existing beliefs were spared but certain new elements concerning the family were introduced, leading to a new awareness of individual responsibility. This agrarian system lived on after the political decolonization of the 19th century. Independence saw power being transferred to a handful of colonials and did nothing to change the social system. Only after the Second World War did the technological transformations, introduced on the large agricultural estates, bring about an upheaval affecting the very roots of the traditional social system : the migration of the Indians towards the coastland came as a response to the demand for labour and the increasing difficulties of living off their poor land. This marked the beginning of a wave of proletarianization of the society which gradually destroyed the network of the extended family system to replace it with the restricted family unit. The urban way of life or the urban-type relationships based on the new system of wages and habitat led to the separation of children from the parents and to undermine the authority of the parents over their children. It should be noted that since the early 1970s, the new military authorities have given priority to the nationalization of the large production units of agricultural export products and to convert them into co-operatives. In this way, the policy of modernization aims to open up democratic structures, and not return to the former cultural traditions.

Rwanda experienced colonization only at the end of the 19th century with the German conquest which left the Tutsi monarchy and its feudal system intact. The Belgian colonizers who came after the Germans at the end of the 1914-1918 war kept up the sale system of domination. The influence of the Catholic missions grew, but the Rwandese socio-cultural system, in one of the least urbanized areas of the world, remained soundly in place. The schools set up by the missions did, however, open the way for the introduction of a new model and at the same time supplied the colonial authorities with the auxiliary help it needed. Fiften years after the Second World War the decolonization movement spread to the country and the feudal regime was overturned. The newly-established institutions favoured the urbanization trend which recent years has accelerated considerably and is profoundly disrupting the traditional socio-cultural model by dissociating producting from the family and promoting the restricted family unit, the "generation gap" and individualism.

Colonization affected Tanzania in the same way and at the same time as Rwanda. The English followed the Germans in the country after the First World War. The British Administration, which followed the spirit of "indirect colonization", made very little changes in the traditional structures except that it opened the way to a certain system of western education. Independence, which came about in the early 1960s, saw the ascension of an African majority to power, keen to preserve the spirit of African culture and its values of solidarity through the policy of Tanzanian socialism, the Ujamaa and "Self-reliance". One particular aim has been to preserve the role of the African family at the centre of the societal model whilst at the same time accepting modernization. As a result, the challenge of urbanization and the impact of the market economy has had to be faced. The Tanzanian authorities rely on a dynamic political structure and a generalized policy of education for participation.

Morocco is the country out of the four whose colonial period was the shortest - from 1912 to 1960. However, the mark left by colonization has been deep in that it has introduced capitalist economy, agrarian colonization based on concentration and technological modernization linked to the international market, and a high rate of urbanization resulting from ever-growing rural exodus. In this context, all the institutions of traditional society, whether Arab or Berber, have had to face a severe crisis of values. The educational system set up during the colonial period was responsive to Arab culture but is now being required to tackle the issue of its adaptation to development. The inquiries tend to show that at least in the majority of the societal samples analysed, the crisis in the traditional society is so serious that it has engendered a rejection of old values and the aspiration for modernization which is seen as a source for a better way of life by the underprivileged sections of the society, whose feelings of frustration only grow stronger as they come into contact with people who are better off than themselves.

What is to be inferred from this broad survey of the historical confrontations between the traditional socio-cultural models and modernization initiatives undertaken as an outcome of the influences of colonization and the models brought in by the West ?

Firstly, a small set of generally-applicable remarks. In every case, the influence of western values combined with the market economy and the wage-earning system has given rise to the gradual destruction of the system of the extended family in favour of the restricted family. Society has split into fragments which do not automatically communicate with each other. Production tends to become dissociated from the family. A sector involving leisure activities exists which is not in line with the two preceding areas. The process of *socialization of the child and adolescent* follows this fragmentation. Primary socialization within the restricted family is not always perfectly matched with the secondary socialization given by the school. Socialization also takes place in peripheral environments outside the institutions : in the towns, the contacts and exchanges that take place in the street are becoming more and more important, and this applies to all the four countries. The influence of the mass media is another important factor for adults and children alike. Information, models and various incitements broadcasted over the radio and the television alter or totally transform the socialization patterns that had previously been inculcated in the adolescents or adults.

Behaviour in relation to fertility is changing, for two main reasons. Firstly, prohibitions and taboos are yielding and giving way because individuals have access to places that are not socially under the control of the upholders of tradtional walues. In this way, the school has befome a place where parents cannot exercise any control, particularly as they themselves never went to school. The school and its surrounding environment may thus become a place where the traditional rules are broken. However, in his family, the school-going child is also able to violate the norms learnt at school without his unschooled parents becoming aware of it. Migration is another cause of redistribution of social control.

Secondly, economic and social calculations affecting fertility choices are being changed because individuals are becoming involved in new production methods. The cost of the child, henceforth assessed in monetary terms, is higher than it apparently was in the self-sufficient economy. At the meeting point between the two methods of calculation, however, totally new forms of reasoning emerge, like that of the Moroccan peasants in El Gharb who mainly earn their living through market circuits but believe that by having large families they will put pressure on the autorities to give them land.

In these circumstances, the pace of demographic transition does not appear to always match the forecasts of the theoreticians. Generally speaking, the decline in the various mortality indices is not accompanied by as quick a slowing down of the birth rate as might be anticipated. Modern contraception is surrounded by such an array of psychological, institutional or material obstacles that it is not easily becoming a common practice in the areas where it is most needed.

When one looks at all these points together, one can appreciate how illusory it would be to try to separate population related behaviours from other factors that govern social life in all its dimensions. In other words, the search for possible strategies is an absolute necessity if one is to draw up population education courses.

II. WHERE TO LOOK FOR POSSIBLE STRATEGIES FOR POPULATION EDUCATION

Strategy is the process whereby an appropriate procedure is selected after taking into account the problems raised in all its dimensions in order to attain an overall objective.

Population education is without doubt situated at this sort of level. Its objective is to disseminate information, knowledge and skills necessary to all members of a social group so that their behaviours in respect of population questions respond to the group's overall development objectives.

The set of data compiled in each of the case studies bring out more or less explicitly the development strategies related to educational strategies. They give first priority to modernization. In this process, reference to original cultural values is noticeably more marked in Tanzania and Rwanda than in Peru or Morocco. It should also be noted that the penetration of the capitalist system into the agrarian structures was much more advanced in the latter two countries.

In the present study, there can be no question of weighing the merits and demerits of the development pattern adopted by the various countries under analysis, but rather of discussing the options of a given strategy in relation to the positions adopted by the General Conference of Unesco concerning the conception of "endogenous development centred on man". "Even values which are theoretically universal, like those embodied in human rights, are nevertheless differently appreciated and experienced by each nation or even by each social group. Development centred on man cannot mean the imposition of an anonymous pattern ; it must be conceived as an *independent* or *self-supporting process* by which a society consciously and freely chooses the pattern to which it intends to conform" (1).

On these bases, a certain number of proposals may be put forward. *A development strategy* should lead to the exploitation and optimal utilization of all the resources available to a country to meet the needs of all the societal groups making up its population in line with the objectives set by these groups in accordance with their own respective value systems. In a development strategy conceived in this way, with the focus on the endogenous factor and on man, the population is bound to play an essential role. It should be for the population to define and achieve the necessary balance between human requirements and available resources. This is where participation in development comes into play.

---

(1) Unesco, *Medium Term Plan (1977-1982)*, 19 C/4 Approved, Chapter III "Man as the Centre of Development", para. 308, p. 57.

The analysis of the case studies clearly shows in the varying contexts, the presence of possible obstacles and the sources of support for such participation. On the one hand, one should take a look at the existing structures : State machinery, public bodies and organizations and productive systems forming part of the major national or international enterprises ; and on the other, one ought to consider the level of competence an awareness of individuals as citizens and as members of family groups in their dealing with these great structures.

The educatonal strategy will aim to have an impact on awareness at the micro and macro levels *and* on the acquisition of knowledge and skills that enable the educated subject to shape the structures according to his own needs and goals. It will therefore play a central role in the design and implementation of endogenous development policies. In this sense, education aims to provide instruction which will enable people to analyse, interpret and act. These three phases should be adhered to in practice.

The situations that are analysed in the case studies show that virtually all the educational strategies are facing one major problem : the existing educational systems originated from models that are alien to the context of people's lives in the countries concerned : the models are derived either from the frames of reference of the colonial power or of those of the ruling classes of exogenous culture depending on the particular case, and students are thus introduced into a selection system whose criteria are those of the dominant class - State bureaucratic middle-class, or industrial middle-class. The criteria used in educational promotion - which can be inferred from the prevailing examination norms - illustrate the extreme difficulty of overcoming class barriers. The most underprivileged are the daughters of the poor classes who are condemned to serve as extra domestic labour in the countryside or, sometimes, to prostitution when they leave for the towns. This phenomenon has been noted in almost all the countries under study.

In all the countries, the development policies, anxious to reduce social injustice, have provided for educational reforms which aim to provide the least favoured classes with the means of access to a more equitable level of social participation. However, these new educational strategies are by no means at the same stage of development in all countries. The most significant and the most radical example is that of Tanzania, where, through its policy of education for "self-reliance", an attempt is being made to integrate schools into the community participation structures and special efforts to provide universal access to both boys *and* girls, to a system of primary education that is adapted to promote their integration into the world of work and to the development of a massive programme of adult education.

This example illustrates one of the keys to the integration of an educational strategy in a development strategy : the setting up of a system in which opportunities for full economic and social participation are provided at the end of each successive level, unlike the conventional systems inherited from the colonial models where the ultimate objective of each level was to prepare for access to the higher level through a series of selection points established in relation to the structure of society.

The two features of an "upward-moving" educational strategy consistent with a development policy that is based on decentralization are the integration of the school into the community, which exercises real social control over it by ensuring its adaptation to its environment, and the introduction of learning opportunities, outside the individual community, and in the framework of regional development programmes geared for participation.

Another noteworthy goal in such a strategy would be greater co-ordination among school and out-of-school education, formal and informal education and child and adult education. Important efforts are being made in this direction in Rwanda at communal level, where a permanent co-ordinating body has been set up for all training activities.

The same spirit governs the "Communal School Nuclei" in Peru (NEC - Nucleos Educativos Communales) which were set up by the General Education Law of 1972 in a policy aiming at the decentralization of the entire educational system and the integration of all training activities in an attempt to establish dialogue and responsible participation. The rural school proposed by the study team in Morocco goes along the same lines.

So, planning and organizing education is an integral part of the planning and organization of development. It is worth recalling here the conclusions of the international conference organized by Unesco in August 1968 on educational planning : "Economics, society, culture and education are aspects of one and the same reality, and to isolate them absolutely would be arbitrary. They must be considered globally. There should accordingly be no question of adapting education to economics, but rather of integrating economic development and the development of human resources, for to a certain extent it is also necessary to adapt economics to the possibilities and requirements of education. In practice the educational plan should no longer be prepared after the general economic and social plan" (1).

These positions are particularly important when referring to a *population education strategy*, which is at the interface of education and development. The objectives of development cannot be set without taking into account developments in population problems, which are at the centre of the community 's plans for the future, and population problems cannot themselves be understood and taken in hand unless the population is capable of taking action as a population in respect of itself. Education plays an essential role in this self-reliance momentum. A certain number of conclusions may be drawn from this.

In the first place, it would seem essential to raise *questions concerning population dynamics in relation to all aspects of development perspectives, programming and implementation* with respect to the specific requirements of the different sectors involved and *examine* at the same time the objective that could be fulfilled by *population education* in each of these situations so that we can be in a better position to gear it to the targets set by development.

---

(1) Unesco, *Educational Planning, a World Survey of Problems and Prospects*, ED-68/D.45/A, Paris, 1970, p. 108.

One must then measure the evolution of production and consumption dynamics as a function of renewable or non-renewable resources (at the same time bringing in the issue of ecological equilibria and the population/ecosystem relationship, crucial to the eco-development line highlighted at the first United Nations Conference on the Environment held in Stockholm). One also needs to deal with the problem of the effects of natural population movements (natality, mortality, growth) and migratory phenomena. This strategic assessment not only applies to the national level but also to those of the sub-region and region.

In such contexts, socio-cultural data are in most cases decisive. We can gauge the discrepancies that exists between the recorded data and the optimal situations that are to be inferred from development prospects. The dossiers that have been compiled on the basis of the case studies give a clear insight into these situations and problem areas. For example, in Rwanda, socio-cultural traditions initially put almost absolute priority on fertility and this has led to a demographic growth rate of the order of 3 per cent per annum, whereas the resources are going to reach a ceiling in the coming decade.

Education helps to understand better the complexity of the causes of these socio-cultural behaviours, thus making it possible to foresee the developments or the necessary modifications in the environments in which these behaviours occur so that the individual and society at large can be in a position to cope with the consequences.

For an educational response to be feasible, it is necessary to set a workplan with reference to the problems and situations that have been mentioned.

This workplan, in a situation of participatory education where the responsibility of the student is a pre-requisite, may be presented in an open ended manner in the educational processes and need not necessarily be closed and pre-determined. In this way, population related behaviours such as migration can be related to the productive efforts that may be envisaged by a social group to balance them out ; a village development programme might lead the group to voluntarily accept to control its demographic growth, or not to control it, in the light of the production and consumption prospects in terms of the organizational structure of village development. Such procedures are implied in the very logic of the basic societal units in Tanzania (co-operative villages or Ujamaa villages).

When drawing up a population education strategy, one can also describe what might be a reverse procedure to the one described above : *to examine level-by-level and for each type of education* (school and out-of-school, child and adult education), *the way of tackling development questions related to population questions as we have described them above,* and the resulting consequences for the acquisition of knowledge, attitudes and behaviours.

Such an orientation of educational strategy implies that the specific socio-cultural settings of each country, region and environment must be taken into account. It also means that *all the various partners involved in the developmental and educational processes must be given the training that is so vital.* A population education strategy calls for a general training policy : teacher training, instruction for social workers and for development officers. Studies like the one carried out in Morocco have particularly demonstrated the strategic importance of interdisciplinary and inter-sectoral training before, as a prerequisite for the actual introduction of the education courses.

III. EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES : SUBJECT MATTER, ORGANIZATION AND TEACHING METHODS FOR POPULATION EDUCATION

The problem of the topics to be introduced in population education has already been brought up in the discussions on strategy. In terms of the proposals put forward in the Peruvian study, which seems to us to be very significant, it could be said that as far as the student is concerned, population education is a *process of "conscientization"*, leading to the recognition and understanding of his own and his family's "micro-world" within a more global situation – the geographical, economic and social environment in which he lives and by which his life is to a great extent determined. The contents of this education would accordingly involve an exploration of the "micro-world", and the "macro-world" and of their mutual inter-relationships. The synthesis of Rwandese study suggests the *organization of the subject matter under four major headings*. This applies just as much to the other countries whose dossiers, as they have been prepared, supply the major part of the material :

a) Educational themes that are appropriate to development and population questions

Social history and social relations :

The historial aspect of development appears crucial if one wishes to promote awareness (conscientization), responsibility and participation. A knowledge of the history of societal dynamics alone is capable of creating cultural identity, the very basis of participation. It leads to a grasp of the interactions between societal models and systems and of the effects of acculturation or domination. It is through this that a people can identify itself as such and establish the goals of its social designs.

The most important sectoral developments in relation to economic and social participation and employment :

The underlying tone here would be that of rural development in a country like Rwanda, whereas in Peru on the coastal regions, it would be that of insertion into the large agro-industrial co-operative estates, placing greater importance on another type of technology and another form of socio-economic organization with its social consequences. This means that education should be adapted to the form of economic activity that offers employment opportunities, such as the co-operatives for example. Be–

ing a shareholder in a co-operative society has a number of implications as regards population related behaviours : inter-personal and group relations within a community, the relations between the generations and inter-relationships within the family and in the framework of the economic activity. One could link this subject area to other possible innovative experiments (already quite advanced in certain countries) related to the establishment of production structures in the school, used for both economic and pedagogical purposes (such as school co-operatives, wherever possible, with the involment of adults).

Population dynamics and its relations with development :

It is not limited to an introductory course on how to calculate the demographic indices - fertility, natality, mortality, nuptiality - but includes the relationships between demographic evolution, production possibilities and resource utilization. In passing, it may be noted how important this problem has become in a country like Tanzania. One of the main goals underlying the development policy has indeed been the creation of a virtually generalized network of population agglomerates to serve as focal points of development through a policy of controlled migration and a bringing together of scattered human settlements - known as the villagization policy. The resulting huge population movements that were effected in a very short space of time, mainly around the year 1975, called for, and are still calling for, a sustained educational drive covering the entire population to explain the meaning of this huge "re-settlement" programme. The problem of explaining migratory phenomena through education concerns practically all countries although on a smaller scale.

Introduction to the possibilities of programming in relation to the development issue :

This is a subject of special importance, involving the management of the future in both the micro and macro worlds. It could be taught on the basis of practical situations and cases through which a common thread of logic and forecasting would run. It also represents an important opportunity for modernization of teaching methods which can easily be geared, in its applications, to the theme : "population/development dynamics".

b) Environment

The main concerns of this theme are the relations between the ecosystem on the one hand and technology and society on the other. One recent definition of environmental education described its components thus :

"Generally speaking, specific aims of environmental education fall into three groups :

1. *Cognitive aims.* These include imparting knowledge about the environment and an ability to thing which will enable the individual and his social group to work out pratical solutions to the wide variety of problems connected with the environment.
2. *Normative aims.* These relate to the inculcation of an eco-social awareness which will be conducive to the creation or modification of value models enabling the individual and the group to identify the factors that upset the environmental equilibrium (which is nothing other than the ecological equilibrium) and protest against them.
3. *Technical and applicative aims.* This means planning collective practices which preserve, improve or restore the quality of life, as understood by the community in the light of formal and informal education, in such a way that the demands made by economic development do not conflict with the biological rhythms of the ecosystem." (1)

The subject area relating to environmental education covers a number of major aims of population education, particularly where this involves the processes by which demographic pressure or population distribution affects natural equilibria. The socio-cultural case studies all tackle this problem, but the treatment they give it varies according to the urgency with which they perceive the problems that need settling. In a general sense, the Rwandese case is the most significant in this respect. Population education cannot be solely responsible for dealing with these environmental issues - it must be given co-ordinated treatment in a joint programme with environmental education (2).

c) Family life education

This subject is dealt with at great length in the studies. In the case of Peru, for example, the research team introduced a highly original application by establishing the typology of the stages in the evolution of family structures under the influence of migration and the gradual phasing in of capitalist modes of production : traditional family, semi-proletarian family, proletarianized family. In each of these forms, a study is made of the structure of the intra-family relationships and also of the relationships between the family and its economic and social environment. The outcome is a series of questions concerning education, also to be found in the other socio-cultural case studies, involving the child's socialization, relations between boys and girls, between parents and children and between the different generations, the relationship between family size and its subsistence resources (particularly the evaluation of the cost of a child), the conception of marriage, etc.

d) Education of the individual for sexual and affective responsibility

Under this theme we deal with knowledge and behavioural norms in relation to human sexuality in a given socio-cultural context, by going beyond the purely physiological aspect in order to grasp such problems as the quest for physical and emotional balance of the individual in interpersonal relations.

---

(1) Vidart D., "Environmental education - theory and practice" in *Prospects*, quarterly review of education, Unesco, Vol VIII N° 4, 1978, p. 477.

(2) Suggestions as how to conduct interdisciplinary research have been put forward in a document produced under the CAPAPE programme : Unesco, *Study of the Inter-relations between Population, Environment and Development*, research outline, 1979.

212

In this context, one can deal with such questions as the affective relations of the couple, the physiology of the sexual organs, reproduction, fertility regulation - without forgetting the social, demographic, economic and cultural aspects of human sexuality.

We cannot stress too greatly the inavoidable interrelationships that exist between these various subject matters, particularly when we note a widespread tendency – perceptible in the inquiries concerning the Arab world, Africa and Latin America – to give great importance to sex education in population education, and sometimes even identifying one with the other.

What is the position as regards *curriculum organization and pedagogical practices*, therefore, on the basis of this list of themes ?

The organization of the curriculum of population education - partly described in the dossier from Tanzania can be built up round three alternative solutions :

- Establishing a specific and *separate* course, dealing with all the major population questions, as part of the overall curriculum ;
- Designing special *series units* of study within existing courses (history, mathematics, biology, etc.) ;
- *Integrating* population education into the overall curricula, by including in the different course-subjects relevant and consistent population themes.

Generally speaking, the first alternative seems to be avoided in all the four countries studied, except for one small, limited variation presented in Tanzanian case study, where it may be envisaged to set up "mini-courses" on a particular topic of population education, in the same way as it has already been successfully tested with agricultural and craft courses.

Therefore, preference seems to be given to integrating population questions into the existing courses, either in the formal system or in out-of-school structures, or again in a combination of the two. In respect of the last, the pilot rural school proposed by Morocco would become a "multi-purpose information and practical application centre for adults and children". Television also takes its place as important channel for information and training which could effectively include population questions in its programmes in view of the prestige it enjoys particularly in the popular sections of society where demand for education is high.

Although the best possible solution for the structural insertion of population education programmes, in their widest sense, would call for the involment of all levels of the educational system through a general, global strategy, one cannot overlook the fact that limited resources and/or institutional obstacles related more often than not to difficulties inherent in any pedagogical innovation or to national cultural viewpoints, necessitate the adoption of more limited solutions.

These solutions are in line with the general choices taken in Tanzania's educational policy, which would seem to give preference to two points of insertion : the last two or three years of primary school (Standards V, VI and VII of the Tanzanian educational organizational chart) and the adult education programmes (education committees for self-reliance). In Rwanda, where more obstacles are being met as a result of cultural factors, and where, accordingly, reactions of extreme prudence are noticeable, it is recommended that population education be introduced first in the first cycle of secondary education, so as to respect the demands for minimum levels of cognitive and especially psycho-affective maturity in adolescents as a prerequisite. It would appear, however, that these recommendations resulted from an outlook of the programmes which gives sex education top priority. However, viewed from a broader perspective, population education should be given pride of place in intracommunal training structures.

We should now look into the problem of *preparing teaching materials consistent with the choice of teaching methods.*

The studies were virtually unanimously in favour of active, participatory teaching methods. Despite one or two slightly divergent remarks from Rwanda, the preference appears to be given for methods involving practical case studies, along the lines of *inductive teaching*. The studies abound in practical examples and should make a contribution to the preparation of source books for teachers, if the national authorities deem such enterprises to be worthwhile.

In Morocco, an original and pragmatic solution is put forward for the preparation of teaching material : it is suggested that seminars be held *in situ* to bring together adult peasants, parents, teachers, personnel of social services (doctors, nurses, midwives) and of the development services (particularly for agriculture). These seminars, at local level, would tackle technical problems related to the control of the environment associated with population questions, and would pay the greatest attention to the "peasants' message". The background material thus gathered from these services, recorded and organized, could be used to prepare teaching materials (school manuals, audio-visual material, slides, tapes) for use in the pilot rural schools.

This procedure provides a practical guide to cope with a widely felt need in several countries : adapt the courses and methods to the different situations prevailing at the regional and sub-regional levels.

This could very well serve as one of the vital links for carrying out the supporting research necessary to sustain the development of population education, of which these socio-cultural case studies constitute only the initiatory stage. The importance of these additional supporting research programmes has been underlined by a number of teams.

Finally, stress should be placed on *teacher training* to be provided in co-ordination with the training given to the agents of the various categories of social and technical services. The research teams repeatedly emphasized the importance of introducing pre-service training in population education for teacher educators and teachers in relevant institutions such as the "Normal Schools" or the teacher education colleges. This training can be relayed and spread out through in-service training programmes given in the form of interdisciplinary seminars or teaching days ; such activities will also need special teaching materials.

Thus we see the emergence of logical inter-relationships between *action*, *research* and *training* within the framewok of a coherent, integrated policy, and despite their shortcomings and imperfections, the socio-cultural case studies have served but to underline the real need for such a policy in order to find a global educational response to meet the challenge of overall development.

ANNEX I

DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

1 Natural resources and their exploitation

1.1 The agricultural system

Kind of farming : its organization
its decision-making system
its division of labour

Kinds of crops

Technology used

Use of farm produce

Existence of surpluses

Surplus management

Savings and investment capacity

Accumulative capacity

1.2 Other aspects of peasant economics

Other produce

Ways in which goods and services are circulated

1.3 Relations with the outside

The flow of exchanges

Appropriation of surpluses and their mechanisms

Global consequences : for organization
for technology
for reproduction of the economic system

Implementation of rural development projects

Their consequences

1.4 Public investments

Equipment

Services : health
education
transports

N.B. : If the study bears upon an urban sector, the necessary transpositions will have to be made through analysis of the parts played by economic elements directly involved in urban societal life (artisans, neighbourhood, commerce, etc.), and those played by economic elements determined by constraints that go beyond the area studied (especially, factories and commercial distribution chains).

2 Relationship between the kinship system and the productive system, or the whole of the economy

2.1 Description of the kinship system

The filiation system (patrilinear of matrilinear)

Marriage, alliance and circulation of people between groups

Counterparts to this circulation

Definition of the role that the kinship system plays in the productive system

2.2 Decision-making power and distribution of tasks within the kinship system

Power of management of goods and services within the kinship system

2.3 Accounting or budgeting of an extended family

215

Description of the contributions of the various members of the family, children especially

Description of family production

2.4 How is survival of the group assured through alliances and offspring

In this same context, how does the system take care of preventing risks, renewing the labour force, and maintaining or distributing wealth and power (prestige)

The cost of raising a child

2.5 The impact of foreign economic forces on the structures of kinship and the practices allied with them.

New systems of social needs

New division of labour

New models of consumption

3 Socio-political organization

3.1 Hierarchies (of power, prestige, wealth)

Their expression

3.2 Existence of a traditional power

Its organization (the class in power, lineage or family in power, etc.)

Its expression

Its scope

Kinds of counter-power tending to balance those holding power

3.3 Channels of participation in power (individual or collective)

Position of the extended family in this system

3.4 Position of women with respect to decision-making power in affairs concerning the nuclear family, the extended family, the village sub-unit, and traditional or modern economic matters

3.5 Presence of power structures foreign to the socio-cultural environment, and their impact on practices relating to traditional power at the level of the global community and at the level of the extended family

Decentralization of decision-making power

Weakening of local, patriarcal power

Emergence of egalitarianism between individuals, sexes, and generations

Emergence of individualism - (in what form ?)

3.6 Existence of castes - (how are they structured ?)

4 Integration and social particiption

4.1 The position of pregnant women (associated rites and practices) ; presocialization (that is, the child's anticipated social status and what is expected of him in terms of sex roles, social position, and economic position) ; birth and delivery (rituals and expectations, social significance, etc.)

4.2 Infancy

The "biography of a child from 1 to 5" (or up until the age of primary autonomy)

Important moments in the child's life, and the participation of the parents (who is important in the child's life at each successive stage ?)

4.3 The system of age groupings

Its practices and stages (and their significance)

Masculine and feminine initiatory rites

Their content

Their significance

Shedding light on aspects concerning sexuality, nuptiality, and relations between the sexes

Relations between younger age groups and the power structure

Relations between younger age groups and the productive system

4.4 Presence of schools and other "modern" services, and their impact on the traditional system of socialization

The effect of schooling : on the social organization
on the productive system
on the informal education system (familial and initiatory education)

In particular, the schooling of girls

How the school is seen by village adults, and what they attribute to its effects.

4.5 Inter-personal communication and taboos (in whose speech do the taboos come out ? Who forbids whom, and why ?)

The contents of communication and taboos

The rules of etiquette in regard to communication

4.6 The mass media (impact)

5 Demographic data of the social sector under study

5.1 Population

Structure
Sex
Age
Occupation
Distribution by "family unit"
Population policy

5.2 Mortality

Infant (less than one year old)
Infant (less than five years old)
General
Morbidity

5.5 Nuptiality

Marriage age
Legitimacy
Celibacy, Divorce, Polygamy

5.4 Fertility

Live births
Number of children by family
Population replacement

5.5 Migrations

Their causes - their modes (points of departure and destination, age groups involved, seasonal, permanent or temporary)

Their consequences

What are the feelings towards them ?

5.6 Is there a discussion on population problems ? On what subjects precisely ?

Is population perceived as a matter for individual or for group decision-making ?

In what ways ? And by what right ?

6 Family and fertility

6.1 Kind of family (legal or "atypical" social cases, fringe groups, consensual marriages, etc) – monogamous or polygamous – nuclear or extended

6.2 Position of the nuclear group (parents and children) within the extended family

The rituals and status associated with paternity

Relations between the couple and the extended family

Relations between parents/children and the extended family

6.3 Decision making concerning : Management of goods
Organization of labour
Marriage
Procreation

6.4 Behaviour directly associated with fertility

Ideal number of children

Pre/extra-marital births

Practices designed to decrease fertility

Practice designed to increase fertility

Means and methods

The economic, social, cultural, and religious significance of children

The significance of sterility

7 The religious system and behaviour regarding population problems

7.1 Religious behaviour related to population problems

– the origins of this behaviour

(myths, written laws, etc., such as the koran - written tradition "Hadith", etc.)

– religious practices regarding : fertility
mortality
sexuality
nuptiality

7.2 Confrontations between religious systems and their consequences on population problems

Example : Islam vs. local religions/Christianty/Hindiusm/Buddhism/ etc.

8 Sexuality

8.1 The representation of physiology

Traditional conceptions and theories prevalent :

(in men)
- Reproductive organs
- Procreative capacity
- Potency/ impotence

(in women)
- Reproductive organs
- Procreative capacity
- Menstruation, Ovulation
- Conception
- Menopause
- Pregnancy, gestation
- Delivery, nursing.

Means of acquiring sexual identity (circumcision, excision, etc.)

Practices (ritual or otherwise), taboos in the same areas ; especially where they concern the community as a whole

Orgasm and sexual pleasure – their relation to procreation

8.2 Things that are permitted, tolerated, forbidden, or objects of sanction for men and for women relative to sexual relations that are :

pre-marital

marital

extra-marital

post-marital

fringe-behaviours

What actually goes on (whether sanctioned or not)

Changes in habits and their causes

8.3 The images of men, women, and adolescent boys and girls

The age at which one is considered an adult

The age when one is considered an "ideal" adult

How does the community observe and respect this ideal age ?

The economic and social significance of sexual identity.

ANNEX II

SEMI-DIRECTIVE INTERVIEW GUIDE

Target group (1) : Parents

Curriculum Vitae

Age .... Sex ....

Marital status ....

Nº of children (total) ☐ boys ☐ girls ☐

Nº of dependent children ☐ boys ☐ girls ☐

Level of instruction :

☐ illiterate ☐ number of years of primary education

☐ number of years of secondary education ☐ number of years of higher education

Current profession .... Profession of spouse ....

Ethnic group ....

Commune .... Sector ....

Departmental capital ....

Changes of residence : Reasons for change (political, economic factors, etc.)

....

....

....

....

Subject 1 : Kinship system and productive system

1. Who takes part in productive work in the family ?

	Yes	No	Number of working hours
Father			
Mother			
Son			
Daughter			

2. a) Does *the family as a whole* still work for the community ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) if yes, what type of work ?

....

....

....

3. Is production commercialized ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

or is the economy one of subsistence ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

4. a) What becomes of the elderly ?

....

....

....

b) What kinds of services do they provide ?

....

....

....

c) Are there special economic roles for the elderly ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

5. Do you consider the children as a resource for the future ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

6. What do you foresee for your children's future ?

Pessimism ☐ fatalism ☐

optimism ☐ belief in will-power ☐

7. Is the cost of the child given a "cash value" ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

8. What is most expensive (classify 1,2,3,4,5)

- clothing ☐
- food ☐
- schooling ☐

220

- entertainment ☐
- others ☐

9. Does the mother work?

Yes ☐ No ☐

10. Who looks after the child ?

- father ☐
- mother ☐
- maid ☐
- other (indicat kinship) ☐

Subject 2 : Socialization

1. Who is in charge of the schooling of your child ?

- father ☐
- mother ☐
- other (indicate kinship) ☐

2. Of what use will the school be ?

Individual benefit (for the child) Yes ☐ No ☐

Collective benefit (for the parents) Yes ☐ No ☐

Community benefit (for the entourage) Yes ☐ No ☐

3. Do you place great importance on your child's school resultats ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

4. Do you think it is important that your child be given a religious education ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

and that he/she practise it ? Yes ☐ No ☐

5. Is there any conflict between your child and yourself about religious matters ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

6. a) Does the adolescent speak of his/her problems to his/her parents ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) If he/she does, in whom does he/she most confide ?

....

....

7. If you have a son ☐ or a daughter ☐ living away from home, why did he/she leave ?

....

....

8. Do you think your son ☐ or daughter ☐ would like to exercise

the same work as you ? Yes ☐ No ☐

Subject 3 : Demography

1. What is the ideal size for a family ? ☐
(number of persons, including parents)

2. What is the ideal interval between births ? ☐

3. a) In your community, is it important to have a son first ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) Are you of the same opinion regarding your own family ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

c) Why ? ....

....

....

4. Do you prefer a large ☐ or small family ? ☐

Why ?

- food problems ☐
- inheritance problems ☐
- other reasons ☐

5. Who makes the decisions as regards fertility ?

- the husband ☐
- the wife ☐
- both together ☐

6. a) When a couple is sterile, do people think the husband ☐

or the wife ☐ or both ☐ are the cause ?

b) What happens when a woman is sterile ?

- divorce Yes ☐ No ☐
- second wife for the husband Yes ☐ No ☐
- other possibilities Yes ☐ No ☐

c) What happens when a husband is sterile ?

- divorce Yes ☐ No ☐
- a "husband for the occasion" Yes ☐ No ☐
- other possibilities Yes ☐ No ☐

7. How is the sterile family looked upon in the community ? And by you personally ?

....

....

....

8. Do you know what causes sterility ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

9. a) What is the ideal age for marriage for a woman ? ☐

for a man ? ☐

b) The age at which you married ☐

c) (If there is a difference) why did you marry

earlier ? ☐ or later ? ☐

10. Polygamy – do you practise it ? Yes ☐ No ☐

– do you wish it,

a) for yourself ? Yes ☐ No ☐

b) for your son ? Yes ☐ No ☐

c) for your daughter ? Yes ☐ No ☐

11. Who decides about marriage ?

	Father	Mother	Brothers	Sisters	Extended Family Members	Others
for the girl						
for the boy						

12. What do you think of single men and women (of long standing) ?

....

....

13. Is virginity an important value ? Yes ☐ No ☐

Why ? ....

....

14. a) If any of your children have died, Yes ☐ No ☐

what did they die of ? ....

....

b) At what age for

the 1st ☐ the 2nd ☐ the 3rd ☐ the 4th ☐

the 5th ☐ the 6th ☐ the 7th ☐ the 8th ☐

c) Do you know of any cases of venereal disease in the region ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

– how are they treated ?

– traditional medicine Yes ☐ No ☐

– modern medicine Yes ☐ No ☐

– openly (not a secret) Yes ☐ No ☐

15. Are there any nutritional problems in the community ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

and in the family ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

16. a) Do you know of any contraceptive means ?

modern ? Yes ☐ No ☐

traditional ? Yes ☐ No ☐

b) Do you agree with the use of contraceptives?

Yes ☐ No ☐

c) Have you used them ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

d) Who informed you about them ?

	Yes	No
Father		
Mother		
School		
Mass-media		
Others		

17. Do you pass on this information to your children ?

To whom ? How ? / By whom ?	Boy	Girl	Special Time	As it Occurs	Upon Request
Father					
Mother					

18. Do you ever think of questions regarding the decrease and/or increase of the population ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Why ? ....

....

Subject 4 : Teaching and population education

1. a) Do you like to go to see your child school ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) For what reasons ? ....

....

....

2. a) Do you the find the teacher welcoming ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) Do you have qualifications

at the same level ? ☐

higher ? ☐

lower ? ☐

3. Are you satisfied with the advice the teacher gives you ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

4. Why ? ....

....

....

5. Which subjects (at least two) would you like to see your child have a greater command of ?

....

....

....

6. a) In your opinion, should differences in terms of schooling be made between girls and boys ?

Yes ☐ **No** ☐

b) Do you believe the school is of equal use to both ?

Yes ☐ **No** ☐

c) Why ? ....

....

....

7. a) Would you have preferred the teacher to adhere srictly to the programme fixed by the Ministry or include matters related to life events as well ?

Yes ☐ **No** ☐

b) Why ? ....

....

....

8. a) Which subjects are not to be mentioned at school ? (in order of importance 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8)

- politics ☐
- family ☐
- religion ☐
- abortion ☐
- contraception ☐
- regionalism ☐
- migration ☐
- - - - - ☐

b) Why ? ....

....

NB. **1. Place a cross in the relevant boxes**
2. When in doubt, leave blank.

Target group (2) : Adolescents

Curriculum Vitae

Age .... Sex ....

Level of instruction ....

N° of years successfully completed ☐ repeated ☐

N° of brothers ☐ and sisters ☐

Rank among surviving children ☐

Profession of father ....
mother ....

Ethnic group ....

Commune .... Sector ....

Departmental capital ....

Changes of residence : Reasons for change :

....

....

Subject 1 : Kinship system and productive system

1. Who takes part in productive work in the family ?

	Yes	No	Number of working hours
Father			
Mother			
Son			
Daughter			

2. Is production commercialized ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

or is the economy one of subsistence ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

3. Do you consider yourself as being a resource for the future ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

for your own future ? Yes ☐ No ☐

for your parents' future ? Yes ☐ No ☐

for the future of your whole family/community ? Yes ☐ No ☐

Subject 2 : Socialization

1. Who takes (took) care of your schooling ?

	Yes	No	Why
Father			
Mother			
Other			

2. a) Does school seem necessary to you ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) In what way will it be useful ?

....

....

3. Do you hope to have a particular job ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If so, which one ? ....

....

4. a) Did your parents go to school ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) If not, are they sorry they didn't ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

c) Why ? ....

....

....

5. a) Do your parents attach much importance to religion ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) Are they practising believers ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

c) Are you ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

6. a) Which problems do you talk to your parents about ?

....

....

b) If you do not talk about any, why not ?

....

....

7. If your parents do not like to talk of such things, would you do so if you were a father (or a mother) ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

why ? ....

....

8. a) Would you like to have the same job as one of your relatives ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) Which job ? ....

c) Which relative ? Father ☐ Brother ☐

Mother ☐ Sister ☐

9. a) Do you live with your parents ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) If not, why did you leave them ? ....

....

....

10. a) Do you think you know everything about (the physiology of) your sex ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) Have you had any sexual experiences ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

c) Do you know about venereal diseases ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

11. a) Would you like to receive instruction in the above matters ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) Where/from whom ?

229

	Yes	No	Why
The school			
Parents			
Others			

12. If you would like to see organized courses, which subjects interest you most ?

	Yes	No	Order of importance
Physiology			
Reproduction			
Sexuality			
Health problems			
Population problems			

Subject 3 : Demography

1. What is the ideal size for a family, in your opinion ? ....

2. At what age would you like to marry ? ☐
Why ? ....
....

3. a) Describe the ideal husband/wife for you :
....
....
b) Why ? ....
....

4. Is virginity an important value ?
Yes ☐ No ☐

5. When someone in your family falls ill, do you use traditional medicine ?
Yes ☐ No ☐
or modern medicine ?
Yes ☐ No ☐

6. Are there any nutritional problems in your commune ?
Yes ☐ No ☐

229

and in your family ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Subject 4 : Teaching and population education

1. a) Would you like your parents (father ☐ mother ☐) to come to see you at school ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) What for ? ....

....

2. a) Do you accept all the actions (punishment or reward) your teacher takes concerning you ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) Why ?	– it is fair	Yes	☐	No	☐
	– It depends on the reason	Yes	☐	No	☐
	– It is part of my education	Yes	☐	No	☐

3. a) Do you consider it to be more important to acquire general knowledge than pratical skills ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) If so, which subjects seem best suited for this ?

1. .... 2. ....
3. .... 4. ....

4. Do you think the teacher makes a difference between boys and girls ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

5. Do you think the school is of equal use to both ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If not, why not ? ....

....

6. a) Would you like the teacher to conform strictly to the manuals ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) Why ? ....

....

....

7. Would you like the teacher to take examples from daily life ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

231

8. **Do you think your parents would support such a move ?**

Yes ☐ **No** ☐

9. **a) Do you approve of being taught about certain poulation issues ?**

	Yes	No
- family	☐	☐
- reproduction	☐	☐
- venereal diseases	☐	☐
- abortion	☐	☐
- birth control	☐	☐
- migratory phenomena	☐	☐

b) Why ? ....

....

....

NB. 1. Place a cross in the appropriate box
2. When in doubt, leave blank.

Target group (3) : Teachers

Curriculum Vitae

Age .... Sex ....

Level of instruction : Secondary ☐ Higher ☐

Diplomas ....

....

Last institution attended ....

N° of years of experience ☐

Level of teaching (different classes and/or subjects taught) :

....

....

....

Previous changes of residence :

....

....

Marital status and family situation :

....

....

Profession of parents ....

Ethnic Group ....

Commune .... Sector ....

Departmental capital ....

Subject 1 : Kinship system and productive system

1. What becomes of the elderly ? ....

....

2. Are there special socio-cultural roles for the elderly ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

3. Do you see children as being a resource for the future ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Subject 2 : Socialization

1. According to your students, what use will school be to them ?

....

....

233

2. Do you think parents attach great importance to religious education ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

3. And your pupils.

Yes ☐ No ☐

4. a) Would you like to teach ?

	Yes	No	Order of importance
Physiology			
Reproduction			
Sexuality			
Health problems			
Population problems			

b) Why ? ....

....

....

Subject 3 : Demography

1. a) What is the ideal size of a family (including parents) ? ....

b) Why ? ....

....

2. a) What is the ideal age for marriage ?

For boys ☐ For girls ☐

b) At what age did you marry ?

c) If there is a difference, why did you marry earlier ☐

or later ? ☐ ....

....

3. In your opinion, what is the average age (today) for marriage

For men ? ☐ For women ? ☐

4. Do you keep yourself informed of demographic developments in your sector ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

- in the country as a whole ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

5. Do you believe there is a correlation between demographic growth and economic and social development ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

- no corre[illegible] ☐
- positive correlation ☐
- negative correlation ☐

6. Do you think youth unemployment will rise in a few years' time ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

7. What sort of education should be encouraged in respect of demographic growth ?

- technical education ? Yes ☐ No ☐
- general education ? Yes ☐ No ☐

8. a) Who, in your opinion, is more closely involved in demographic growth ?

the boy ☐ the girl ☐ both ☐

b) Why ? ....

....

....

9. Should contraception be taught at school ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

or outside the school ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Subject 4 : Teaching and population education

1. a) Do you have any contacts with students' parents ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) What are the main reasons for their visits ?

....

....

c) Which category of parents visits the most (in order of importance,1, 2, 3, 4) ?

- traders ☐
- peasants ☐
- intellectuals (having received a higher education) ☐
- the middle class (non-intellectual literates) ☐

2. What sort of advice does the teacher usually give ?

....

....

3. In such cases, do you find you are influenced by your own social origin ☐

or by that of your student ? ☐

4. a) Do you feel that at the level at which you teach, general knowledge is more important than technology (from the practical point of view) ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) Why ? ....

....

....

c) In your opinion, which subjects are most important in general knowledge ?

....

....

5. a) Does the teacher make a difference between girls and boys ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) Do you think the school is of equal use to both ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

6. Do you often ☐ sometimes ☐ or never ☐ think about the student's social origin while you are teaching ?

7. a) Do you conform strictly to the contents of the manuals ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) If you do, in which subjects do you conform the most closely to the contents ?

....

....

c) Why ? ....

....

....

8. a) On the other hand, do you ever use examples taken from your students' daily life ?

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) What is their reaction in class ? ....

....

9. Which issues are taboo (in order of importance 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6) ?

Country of origin ☐
Region of origin ☐
Department of origin ☐
Commune or sector of origin ☐
Ethnic groups ☐
Parents' religion ☐

10. a) Are you in favour of the teaching of population issues ?

	Yes	No
Family	☐	☐
Reproduction	☐	☐
Venereal diseases	☐	☐
Abortion	☐	☐
Birth control	☐	☐
Girl/boy relationships	☐	☐

b) Why ? ....

....

....

c) What is the students' reaction ?

....

....

d) What is the parents' reaction ?

....

....

....

N.B. 1. Place a cross in the appropriate box
2. When in doubt, leave blank.

For any information concerning the present study, please write to :

Population Education Section
Education Sector
Unesco
Place de Fontenoy
75007 PARIS
France.

Mr. Boniface BIYONG,
Chief of Section.

Mrs Josyane BLANCHARD
Programme Specialist
"Coordinated Action Programme for the Advancement
of Population Education" (CAPAPE).